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THE HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

IN THE

COLONIES

AND

FOREIGN DEPENDENCIES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY THE REV.

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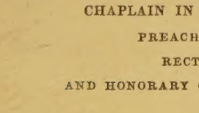

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CHAPTER X.

VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, AND THE BERMUDAS, IN THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I. AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

A.D. 1639—1660.

Sir W. Berkeley first appointed Governor 1640-1.

Sir William Berkeley brought out with him to Virginia the same Instructions respecting the Church in that Colony which had been given to Wyat; and, in accordance with them, fresh Parishes were soon marked out, and others subdivided. He had authority also to restore to the Virginians the full exercise of those privileges, relating to the administration of justice and the regulation of commerce, the basis of which was supplied in those laws which had been in force, as long as the Virginia Company ruled the Colony, but the practical benefits of which had been lost since it had been brought under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Crown [1].

[1] Chalmers, 120—133.

The feeling of deep gratitude, awakened throughout the Colony by this exercise of the royal prerogative, showed itself in various ways; and, instead of heart-burnings and the oppression of indignant and outraged consciences, stimulating men to those acts of resistance which had disturbed it under the administration of Harvey, the inhabitants of the province vied with each other in their efforts to uphold the authority, and honour the person, of Berkeley. One remarkable evidence of this occurs in an Act of the Assembly, passed in June, 1642, whereby an orchard and two houses belonging to the Colony, were presented to him and his heirs for ever, 'as a free and voluntary gift in consideration of many favours manifested by him[2].' In many respects, Berkeley fully merited the confidence and gratitude of Virginia. He was honest and persevering, loyal and courageous; and the defects in his character, from which the Colony doubtless suffered in some most important respects, may partly be ascribed to the times in which he lived.

Indian War.

Berkeley was involved, at the outset of his administration, in a war with the Indians, provoked by the shameful outrages which Harvey had permitted his people to carry on among their tribes. Opechancanough, who, twenty years before, had struck so heavy a blow against the English by the massacre which his followers then perpetrated, still lived to avenge the fresh insults which the white man heaped upon him. Up to the very moment at which the war broke out, there appeared no symptom of danger. Demonstrations even of an amicable

[2] Hening, i. 267.

nature had been made by Opechancanough, only a few months before he assailed the English settlements. Thus, in 1640, he interceded for an Englishman, named John Burton, who had been sentenced to death for the murder of an Indian, and obtained remission of the sentence. Again, in 1641, he allowed Thomas Rolfe, the son of Pocahuntas, his niece [3], to come and visit him. And yet, all that time, he was organising a force so numerous and resolute, that, upon their first attack of the English frontier, in the following spring, they slew five hundred of the settlers, took many prisoners, and destroyed a large amount of property. In consequence, however, of the defensive measures which the English had been careful to observe ever since the former massacre, the Indians were not able to push their success further. Berkeley met the danger promptly and boldly. He enrolled into a militia all who were able to bear arms; put himself at their head; pursued the Indians, already upon their retreat, into their own country; took Opechancanough himself prisoner; and brought him back in triumph to James Town.

Death of Opechancanough.

The Indian prince was so bowed down by the weight of many,—it is said, well nigh a hundred,—years, that he was carried about in a litter; and his eyelids were so heavy that he could not see, unless they were lifted up by his attendants. Still his spirit was unbroken; and the hold which he had upon the affections of his followers was so strong, that many of them entreated to be allowed the privilege of sharing his captivity, that they might sustain the weakness, and comfort the

[3] See Vol. i. p. 249.

sorrows, of their chief. Berkeley treated him with great kindness; and doubtless would have rejoiced to soothe, as far as in him lay, the closing hours of his life. But his intentions were frustrated by a wound, which one of the guards of Opechancanough inflicted upon him, of which he died. The brave, proud, spirit of the Indian warrior showed itself in that hour. Hearing an unusual noise in the chamber where he was confined, he desired his attendants to lift up his eyelids, which were ready to be closed in death, and saw a number of persons, who had crowded around him that they might gratify their curiosity by gazing upon his last struggles. He lifted himself up in their presence; and, not deigning to say a word to the intruders, ordered Berkeley to be summoned. The Governor obeyed the call; and, upon his entering the room, Opechancanough indignantly said to him, that, 'had it been his good fortune to have taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, he would not have meanly exposed him thus a show unto his people[4].'

Soon after the death of Opechancanough, Berkeley departed for England, leaving Richard Kemp to act for him. Returning next year, he made treaties of peace with the several Indian chiefs who had conspired to attack Virginia[5]; and, for some time, no further collision was experienced in that quarter. Berkeley's greatest difficulties arose from home. The conflict, which, in the Mother country, cast throne and altar to the ground, was renewed in every Colony; and, in none was the struggle maintained with greater obstinacy than in Virginia. The well-known loyalty and courage of her Governor, and the affection, which,

[4] Burk, ii. 54—59.

[5] Hening, i. 5. 323.

amid all the discouragements heaped upon them, her people still felt and professed for the King and for the Church, gathered fresh strength as the enemies of both increased. The period, however, which intervened before the crisis of the conflict arrived, exhibits some points of interest, connected with our present work, which claim attention. We find, for instance, in the following remarkable Acts of the Grand Assembly, February 17, 1644-5, evidence of the increasing difficulty experienced in the Colony, from the want of Clergy, and the means adopted to relieve it.

Acts respecting the Church, 1644-5.

I. *Be it enacted by the Governour, Counsell, and Burgesses of this present Grand Assembly*, for God's glory and the publick benefitt of the Collony, to the end that God might avert his heavie judgments that are now vpon vs, That the last Wednesday be sett apart for a day of ffast and humiliation, And that it be wholly dedicated to prayers and preaching, And because of the scarcity of pastors, many ministers haveing charge of two cures, Be it enacted, That such minister shall officiate in one cure vpon the last Wednesday of everie month; and in his other cure vpon the first Wednesday of the ensuing month, And in case of haveing three cures, that hee officiate in his third cure vppon the second Wednesday of the ensuing month which shall then be their day of fast, That the last act made the 11th of January, 1641, concerning the ministers preaching in the fore-noon and catechising in the afternoon of every Sunday be revived and stand in force, And in case any minister do faile so to doe, That he forfeit 500 pound of tobaccoe to be disposed of by the vestrey for the vse of the parish.

Monthly Fasts.

Remedy for scarcity of pastors.

II. That everie minister shall reside and abide within his cure to perform such acts of his callinge (vizt.) baptize weak infants, to visit the sick and all other actions which pertain to his ministerial function, vpon penalty as aforesaid.

Ministers to reside.

III. That where it soe falls out that any minister have induction into two or more cures farr distant one from another, whereby

one cure must necessarily be neglected, It shall be lawfull for the parishioners of such a cure, to make vse of any other minister as a lecturer to baptize or preach, *Provided* it be without prejudice or hinderance to the incumbent that first had his induction, And that the priviledge shall be allowed to all other parts inconvenient and dangerous for repaire to the parish Church.

Day of thanksgiving.

IV. That the eighteenth day of April [the day on which the last attack of the Indians was made] be yearly celebrated by thanksgivinge for our deliverance from the hands of the Salvages.

Election of Vestry.

V. That the election of every vestry be in the power of the major part of the parishioners who being warned will appear to make choice of such men as by pluralitie of voices shall be thought fitt, and such warninge to be given either by the minister, church-wardens or head commissioners.

Controul of Church-wardens.

VI. That whereas the church-wardens have been very negligent in the execution of their duties and office, The county courts shall hereby have power to call them into question, And if just cause be, to punish or fine them as the offence shall deserve [6].

Some of these enactments testify the desire of the Virginians to recognise the hand of God in every event, whether of weal or woe, which befel their Colony; and others, their efforts to remedy the evils which impeded the efficient ministration of the Gospel within her borders. Sufficient evidence, therefore, is supplied to us for believing, that, if a more equitable and paternal policy had been pursued towards her in earlier days, the wishes of her faithful children might have been accomplished, and their efforts followed with success. But this was not now permitted to be. The seeds of injustice and neglect, so largely scattered over the land, were rapidly producing fruit after their own kind, depression and contempt; and

[6] Ibid. 289.

that sure process, through which the misconduct of one generation entails a heavier burden of guilt and misery upon the generation that succeeds it, was, day by day, developing its deadly power.

> Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
> Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
> Nos nequiores, mox daturos,
> Progeniem vitiosiorem [7].

It need not surprise us therefore to trace the operation of the same fatal process in the history of Virginia in that day. The wonder rather is that, in her early decline she should have exhibited so many tokens of healthful aspiration and energy. Her temporal liberties were not yet taken from her; on the contrary, the administration of Berkeley did much towards their renewal and security [8]; and the Acts just referred to prove her readiness to apply her temporal influence, to the maintenance and extension of spiritual benefits. If there are other instances in which she exerted her powers in a mode to be condemned for its severity, let it be remembered, that the conflict then raging at home could not fail to inflame the hearts of Englishmen abroad. When we find the Grand Assembly of Virginia enacting, at an early

Laws against Popish Recusants and Non-conformists.

[7] Hor. Lib. iii. Od. vi.

[8] It is amusing to observe the perplexity of Burk, the historian of Virginia, ii. 76, at finding that the liberty of the subject was so much cared for, under a government distinguished for its devotion to the Crown. He tries hard, but without success, to account for the fact in his own way: forgetting that any attempt to do so was altogether superfluous; and that to suppose any real inconsistency to exist between loyalty and liberty, is but to indulge one of the most unjust and vulgar prejudices of Republicanism.

period of Berkeley's government, the disability of Popish Recusants to hold public offices; and commanding, under a penalty, all Popish Priests that might arrive in the Colony to depart thence, within five days: or, when we read, in another Act of the same session, an order, that all ministers whatsoever residing in the Colony were to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England, and the laws therein established, and not otherwise to be admitted to teach publicly or privately; and that the Governor and Council were to take care that all Non-conformists, should on due notice be compelled to depart from the Colony with all convenience[9]; we do but review herein, in other words, the prohibitions and declarations which, in England, during the same period, were regarded as necessary acts of self-defence. One instance, indeed, now occurs of severity exercised by the authorities of Virginia, which surpasses any of the same kind even under Harvey's administration. During the despotic rule of that governor, the following minute is recorded:

'October 7, 1634, Henry Coleman excommunicated for forty days, for using scornful speeches and putting on his hat in church, when, according to an order of court, he was to acknowledge and ask forgiveness for an offence.'

But this act of rigour sinks into insignificance, when compared with another which must have taken place either at the end of Wyat's last, or the beginning of Berkeley's first administration, and which is thus related:

'1640, Stephen Reekes put in pillory two hours, with a paper on his head expressing his offence, fined fifty pounds sterling, and im-

[9] Hening, i. 269. 277.

prisoned during pleasure for saying that his majesty was at confession with my Lord of Canterbury [10].'

If Prynne could have been informed of this fact whilst he was heaping upon the head of the devoted Laud every charge which ingenuity, sharpened by malice, could suggest, he would have desired no better means of aggravating the odium which, in any and every place, he strove to affix to the name of that Prelate.

Sympathy of some Virginians with the Puritans checked.

The rigorous decrees of the Star Chamber and High-Commission Court in England, we have seen quickened into more vigorous action the antagonism which it sought to subdue. Like acts of severity now committed in the Colony, produced like consequences, and awakened in the hearts of many of the inhabitants a sympathy with those very Puritans of New England, between whom and themselves the Virginia Legislature were labouring to erect an insurmountable barrier. At an early period of Berkeley's government, some of the people of Virginia applied to the General Court of Massachusetts, entreating them to send ministers of the Gospel into their country, that its inhabitants might receive a larger measure of the spiritual privileges which they longed for. The application was acceded to. Three Congregational Missionaries, as they were called, went forthwith to Virginia; but, the law just cited, passed the same year, and probably for the express purpose of counteracting this movement, made it impracticable for them to continue their ministrations in the Colony; and they departed, not without having received several

[10] Ib. 223. 552.

marks of private sympathy and gratitude from those to whom they had offered their services, and who were forced to relinquish them [11].

Remarkable Petition of Castell and others to Parliament, 1641.

An event occurred about the same time in England, which shows in a remarkable manner the sympathy felt and expressed by many of her people, amid their own difficulties, for those experienced in her Colonies; and also their sense of the duties which their possession of Colonies imposed upon the whole realm. It was the presentation of a Petition, in 1641, by 'Master William Castell, Parson of Courtenhall in the county of Northampton, to the High Court of Parliament then assembled, for the propagating of the Gospel in America, and the West Indies; and for the settling of our Plantations there.' Some few notices of our Colonies occur in the records of former Parliaments; but they refer, for the most part, only to the regulation of sundry articles of commerce between them and the mother country. The above Petition, addressed to the Long Parliament in the first year of its session, is, I believe, the first formal proof of any desire to urge upon the Legislature of England a regard for the spiritual condition of her Colonies. For this reason, I give it at length. Having stated, first of all, its object, namely, to 'propose briefly the more than ordinary piety and charity of the worke; the evident necessity and benefit of the undertaking, together with the easinesse of effecting it,' the Petition proceeds thus:

A greater expression of piety (your Petitioner conceiveth) there cannot be, than to make God known where he was never spoken

[11] Emerson, &c. quoted by Hawks (Virginia), 52, &c.

nor thought of, to advance the Scepter of Christ's Kingdom. And now againe to reduce those, who at first were created after the Image of God from the manifest worship of devils: To acknowledge and adore the blessed Trinitie in Vnity, to doe this, is to be happy Instruments of effecting those often repeated promises of God, in making all nations blessed by the comming of Christ, and by sending his word to all lands; It is to enlarge greatly the pale of the Church; and to make those (who were the most detestable synagogues of Sathan) delightfull Temples of the Holy Ghost.

It was a high point of piety in the Queen of the South, to come from the utmost parts of the world to heare the wisdome of Solomon. And so it was in Abraham, to leave his native countrey for the better and more free service of his God.

And certainely it will be esteemed no lesse in those, who (either in their persons or purses) shall religiously endeavour to make millions of those silly seduced Americans, to heare, understand, and practise the mysterie of godlinesse.

And as is the piety, such is the charity of the worke, exceeding great, to no lesse than the immortall soules of innumerable men, who still sit in darknesse and in the shadow of death, continually assaulted and devoured by the Dragon, whose greatest delight is to bring others with himselfe into the same irrecoverable gulfe of perdition: what those blind and spirituall distressed Americans are, we were, and so had continued, had not Apostolicall men afforded greater charity unto us, *Divisis orbe Britannis*, by long Journeyings, and not without great hazard of their lives, then (as yet) hath beene shewed by us unto them.

Wee are not indeed indued with such eminent extraordinary gifts, as were the Primitive Christians, but yet (if it be duly considered) how fully and how purely God hath imparted his Gospel unto this Iland, how miraculously hee hath lately protected us from Spanish invasions and Popish conspiracies; how (at this time) wee abound in shipping, and all manner of provision for sea: It will bee found, that wee (of all nations) are most for the worke, and most ingaged to doe it in due thankfulnesse to God.

Nor is the Arme of the Lord shortned, or his wonted bounty so restrained, but that undertaking the voyage principally for God's glory, and in compassion to men's soules, we may expect a more then an ordinary blessing from him, whose usuall custome is to honour those that honour him, and most abundantly even in this life, to recompence such religious undertakings.

The Spaniard boasteth much of what he hath already done in this kind; but their owne Authors report their unchristian behaviour, especially their monstrous cruelties, to bee such as they caused the Infidels to detest the name of Christ. Your wisedomes may judge of the Lyon by his claw. In one of their Ilands, called Hispaniola, of 200000 men, as Benzo (in his Italian historie) affirmeth, they had not left 150 soules. And Lipsius justly complaineth, that wheresoever they came, they cut downe men as they did corne, without any compassion! And as for those that survived, they bought their lives at deare rates: for they put them to beare their carriages from place to place, and if they fayled by the way, they either miserably dismembered, or killed them outright. They lodged them like brute beasts under the planks of their ships, till their flesh rotted from their backs: And if any fayled in the full performance of his daily taske, hee was sure to bee whipped till his body distilled with gore blood, and then poured they in either molten pitch or scalding oyle to supple him.

A very strange and unlikely way to worke Infidels unto the faith, neither yet could they (if they would) impart unto others the Gospel in the truth and purity thereof, who have it not themselves, but very corruptly, accompanied with many idle, absurd, idolatrous inventions of their owne, which are but as so many superstructures wickedly oppressing, if not utterly subverting, the very foundations of Christianity.

And although some of the reformed religion, English, Scotch, French, and Dutch, have already taken up their habitations in those parts, yet hath their going thither (as yet) beene to small purpose, for the converting of those nations: either for that they have placed themselves but in the skirts of America, where there are but few natives (as those of New England), or else for want of able and conscionable Ministers (as in Virginia), they themselves are become exceeding rude, more likely to turne Heathen, then to turn others to the Christian faith [12].

The names of those who signed it.

The terms in which this Petition is expressed, and the fact that it was the earliest Petition of the kind addressed to

[12] Vol. i. of MSS., &c. on American Colonies in Lambeth Library. Hazard's Historical Collections, i. 527—532.

an English Parliament, are of themselves sufficient to invest it with peculiar interest. But, that interest is increased, when we come to review the names of some who were associated with William Castell in the promotion of it. The name of Edmund Castell is attached to the Petition,—a relative, probably, as well as namesake of the 'Parson of Courtenhall' who presented it,—but much better known to the world as the laborious and poverty-stricken scholar, who, by his valuable Polyglot Lexicon, assisted the noble undertaking of Brian Walton, and was himself assisted by one greater than both,—whose services will be hereafter described,—Edward Pocock. The Petition was further 'approved by seventy able English Divines,' of whom thirty were 'ministers of London,' Robert Sanderson, Joseph Caryl, Edmund Calamy, and others; fifteen were ministers of other counties; and the remainder were 'worthy ministers of the Diocese of Peterborough, where the Petitioner liveth.' It is added also, that it was approved by 'Master Alexander Henderson, and some worthy ministers of Scotland.' Now, when it is remembered, that Caryl and Calamy became afterwards not only members of the Assembly of Divines, but constantly attended its sittings; and that the latter was one of the writers, referred to in a former chapter, the initials of whose names composed the title of Smectymnuus[13]; and, further, when it is remembered, that Henderson and the other Presbyterian Commissioners from Scotland, were foremost in promoting those measures in the same Assembly, which ended in the temporary overthrow of our

Edmund Castell.

[13] See Vol. i. p. 420, *note*.

Church; it will probably appear to many, that this Petition was nothing else than a movement of the Non-conformist party to gain their own ends; and is, in no sense, worthy of being regarded as the expression of faithful ministers of our own communion. I do not however believe that this would be a right conclusion. The Assembly of Divines was not summoned until two years after the presentation of this Petition; and, although that was a brief interval, yet the growth of divisions within the same period became so rapid, that it would not be safe to argue, that, because some persons who signed the Petition were found, at the end of that time, irreconcileably hostile to the polity and ordinances of the Church, therefore all who signed it were evil affected towards them at its commencement. On the contrary, there were several, among her most sincere and devoted ministers, who, seeing the conflict about to be waged between her and her many adversaries, threw themselves between the contending parties with the single desire to stop the collision; and, had their counsel been heard, and their example followed, the ruinous consequences of the shock might, even then, have been averted. These men, regarding only the high and holy duties to which the Petition referred, would neither disown its approval by Henderson and others from Scotland, if they were prepared to give it; nor stand aloof from others of their own communion, with whom, as the event proved, Henderson was found to sympathize more intimately than with themselves. They looked to the wants of their fellow-countrymen and of the heathen in foreign lands; confessed the obligation which rested upon England to help them; and called upon the Parliament of England to discharge that

obligation. This I believe to be the reason why we find the name of the celebrated Robert Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, at the head of the London Clergy who bore testimony to the piety and need of Castell's Petition. None loved the Church of England more affectionately than did that great and good man. None acknowledged her authority more faithfully, obeyed it more reverently, or vindicated it more ably. Yet, he scrupled not in this Petition to co-operate, in all kindness and sincerity, with those who might differ from him, as long as he could do so without a compromise of principle. And, herein, he did but manifest the same conciliatory spirit which led him, as I have already remarked, to deprecate, in his letter to Laud, the attempt made by that Prelate to force upon the Clergy the oath prescribed by the Canons of 1640. He hereby promoted also, in another way, that work of mediation which, Izaak Walton says, was entrusted to his hands in that fearful crisis. Walton makes no mention, indeed, of this Petition; but, in 1641, the year in which it was presented, he relates that Sanderson was deputed, with two more of the Convocation, to confer with certain persons who were anxious to impose the Scotch Covenant upon the English people, and to point out the method which seemed to him most likely to heal the differences between the two parties. They met, he tells us, privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster's house, for the space of three months or more. And the plan which Sanderson then drew out for a reconciliation of their differences only became useless by reason of the collision which ensued, and drowned the voice of every pleader, come from what

Robert Sanderson.

quarter it might[14]. That Sanderson should have failed in effecting a reconciliation, under such circumstances, is nothing wonderful. But, that he should have made the attempt, and persevered in renewing it, as long as he was able; and, that, in the midst of the appalling dangers which pressed upon him at home, he should have remembered his brethren in distant climes, and done what in him lay to help them,—as his name to Castell's Petition testifies,—are facts which, after the lapse of more than two centuries, ought not to be forgotten.

Increasing difficulties of Virginia.

The difficulties of his brethren, in those distant climes, rapidly increased. The proceedings in England, which made havoc of the temporal possessions of the Church, and assailed her spiritual ordinances,—forbidding, under pains and penalties, the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and making the observance of the Directory for public worship compulsory upon all,—soon made themselves felt in Virginia. The same quick success, indeed, did not there follow them; for Berkeley was brave as he was loyal, and the majority of the Colonists stood firmly by him. So little moved were they, indeed, at first by what was passing at home, that the Acts lately recited,—with respect to the residence and other duties of the Clergy, the appointment of fasts and thanksgiving, the office of lecturers, and the alteration of the bounds of Parishes,—were passed in those very years of Berkeley's government, which witnessed the ascendancy of the Presbyterian party in England and the execution of Laud. Nevertheless, as time passed on, a gradual disaffection towards the

[14] Walton's Life of Sanderson, 293.

Church spread among the inhabitants of the Colony, and influenced some even of the Clergy themselves. This feeling, it was attempted to check,—not, as it might and ought to have been, by taking care to have provided in proper time a sufficient number of faithful and devoted men,—but by a statute of the Grand Assembly. Thus, on the 3rd of November, 1647, some months after the seizure of the person of Charles I., the following enactment was passed:—

Vpon divers informations presented to this Assembly against severall ministers for theire neglects and refractory refuseing after warning given them to read common prayer or divine service vpon the Sabboth dayes, contrary to the canons of the church and acts of parliament therein established; for future remedie hereof: *Be it enacted by the Gov.r Council and Burgesses of this Grand Assembly*, That all ministers in their severall cures throughout the collony due duely vpon every Sabboth day read such prayers as are appointed and prescribed vnto them by the said booke of common prayer, And be it further enacted as a penaltie to such as have neglected or shall neglect their duty herein, That no parishioner shall be compelled either by distresse or otherwise to pay any manner of tythes or dutyes to any unconformist as aforesaid [15].

She resists the Commonwealth.

Such was the language of the rulers of Virginia, and such their resolution, to uphold publicly the ordinances of the Church within her borders, at the time when she was laid prostrate at home, and her scattered children were enabled, only in secret places and amid dangers and alarms, to observe any portion of her ritual. And, when at length the tidings reached them that Charles had died upon the scaffold, they boldly disavowed the whole course of proceedings which led to that fatal issue. The first Act passed by them afterwards,

[15] Hening, i. 341

October 10, 1649, declared that, whatsoever person, whether stranger or inhabitant of the Colony, should go about to defend the late traitorous proceedings, or call in question the undoubted and inherent right of Charles II. to the supreme government of Virginia, and all the rest of his dominions; or should spread abroad among the people any thing that might tend to lessen the power and authority of the Governor or Government, then existing in the Colony, either in civil or ecclesiastical causes, should be judged guilty of high treason [16].

Submits in 1651.

But it was impossible that this refusal to acknowledge the authority of the Commonwealth could be long maintained. Cromwell's energy, triumphant in England, Ireland, and Scotland, soon made itself felt in every part of the English possessions abroad; and, in 1651, a squadron of Sir George Ayscue's fleet, which had already forced Barbados and other islands in the West Indies to yield to the Protector, extorted the like submission from Virginia. Commissioners were appointed by the Council of State in England, for the purpose of seeing that due obedience was rendered to the Commonwealth. Their instructions were to ensure pardon and indemnity to all inhabitants of the Colony, who should acknowledge their authority; and to oppress, by every means in their power, all who rejected it. They were, further,

'to cause the several Acts of Parliament against Kingship and the House of Lords to be received and published, as also the Acts for abolishing the book of Common Prayer, and for subscribing the Engagement, and all other Acts therewith delivered [17].'

[16] Ib. 359—361.

[17] Thurloe's State Papers, i. 197.

Articles of Surrender.

Nevertheless, the Articles of Surrender plainly show, that the Commissioners were not able, or thought it not prudent, to carry these instructions into effect in Virginia. For, not only were full remission and indemnity granted for all acts done by its inhabitants against the Commonwealth, and the privileges under former Patents still secured to them; but the use of the Book of Common Prayer was permitted for one year, provided that the matters contained in it concerning the monarchy were not made public; the Clergy also were continued in their places; and the payment of their accustomed dues retained for the same period. Moreover, neither Berkeley, nor the members of the Council, were to be obliged to take any oath or engagement to the Commonwealth for a whole year, nor to 'be censured for praying for or speaking well of the King, during the same period, in their private houses or neighbouring conference.' They were also to have full liberty to sell their estates; to depart without molestation, at the end of a year, for Holland or England; and, in case of going to the latter, to be exempt from arrest for six months after their arrival[18]. Richard Benett, one of the Commissioners, was elected Governor by the Grand Assembly, in the room of Berkeley; and Clayborne, whose treacherous and greedy spirit had tempted him to be made another of the Commissioners, found no difficulty in retaining the same office of Secretary which he had filled under the former government[19].

[18] Hening, i. 363—367.

[19] Not only Benett, but all his successors, Digges in 1655, Mathews in 1656, and Berkeley in 1659, were likewise appointed by the Assembly, and not by the Parliament or Cromwell, as Robert-

Acts respecting Indian children, Parishes, and Ministers, in 1654-5.

The Colonial Legislature at this time passed an Act, providing that Indian children, when taken as servants, should be brought up in the Christian religion [20]; and, again, others with reference to the provision designed generally for the spiritual wants of Virginia:

Whereas there are many places destitute of ministers, and like still to continue soe, the people content not payinge their accustomed dues, which makes them negligent to procure those which should teach and instruct them, soe by this improvident saveing they loose the greatest benefitt and comfort a Christian can have, by hearing the word and vse of the blessed sacraments, *Therefore be it enacted by this present Grand Assembly*, That all countys not laid out in parishes shall be divided into parishes the next county court after publication hereof, and that all tithable persons in every parish within this collony respectively, in the vacancy of their minister, pay 15 lb. of tobacco per poll yearly, and that tobacco to be deposited in the hands of the commissioners of the severall counties, to be by them disposed of in the first place for the building of a parish church, and afterwards the surplusage thereof (if any be) to go towards the purchaseing of a gleab and stock for the next minister that shall be settled there: Provided that the vestrys of the severall parishes be responsible for the said tobacco so leavied.

The resemblance of the language in the above Act to that of many which have been already cited with respect to Church matters, and the entire absence of any public proof that any other mode of conducting Divine worship, save that according to the rites of our Church, was then recognised in the Colony, make it highly probable that the toleration of its Book of

son and other historians have said. Ib. 5, and note to pp. 526. 371.

[20] Ib. 410. Another Act was passed in 1657, making it penal to steal an Indian. Ib. 481.

Common Prayer, which had been expressly granted for a year, when Virginia was first brought under the Commonwealth, was still connived at.

One of the Acts concerning ministers was designed to give increased facilities for the introduction of them into the Colony, and is thus expressed:

Whereas many congregations in this collony are destitute of ministers whereby religion and devotion cannot but suffer much impairment and decay, which want of the destitute congregations ought to be supplied by all meanes possible to be vsed, As also to invite and encourage ministers to repaire thither and merchants to bring them in, *Bee it therefore hereby enacted* for the reasons aforesaid, That what person or persons soever shall at his or their proper cost and charge transport a sufficient minister into this collony without agreement made with him, shall receive for satisfaction of his or their said charges of him the said minister or they that shall entertaine him for their minister, twenty pounds sterling by bill of exchange or two thousand pounds of tobacco, and also for what money shall be disbursed for them besides their transportation to be allowed for.

In the same session was passed another Act,

For encouragement of the ministers in the country and that they may be the better enabled to attend both publick commands and their private cures, It is ordered, that from henceforth each minister, in his owne person with six other servants of his family shall be free from publique levies, Allwaies provided they be examined by Mr. Phillip Mallory and Mr. John Green, and they to certifye their abilities to the Governour and Councill, who are to proceed according to their judgement[21].

I trace in this Act another proof of the conclusion already drawn, that the ministrations of Christianity, as far as they were then exhibited in Virginia, were, in substance, conducted according to the rites of our Church: for the Philip Mallory, here named as one of the examiners, is he whom I have already noticed,

[21] Ib. 399. 418. 424.

by anticipation, as the Clergyman who was selected, on account of his eminent faithfulness and diligence, to undertake the promotion of the Church affairs of the Colony in England, after the Restoration [22]. It is true, as Hening observes, that no formal injunction of obedience to the doctrines and discipline of our Church occurs in any records of the Grand Assembly during the Commonwealth; and that all matters relating to the ministers and other parochial affairs, were left to the discretion of the people [23]. Yet it is equally true, and the testimonies just cited prove, that, in the exercise of their discretion, the majority of the people were anxious to retain, and did retain, the teaching of the Church of England.

Acts for restraining crime and observing the Sabbath.

Another Act of the Colonial Legislature, at this time, decreed that all persons guilty of drunkenness, or blaspheming, or swearing, or scandalous living in adultery and fornication, should be held incapable of being witnesses, or of bearing any public office in the government. Pecuniary fines also were exacted of such offenders in extreme cases. And, upon those who did not keep the Sabbath holy, who journeyed on that day (except in cases of great emergency), who loaded boats, or fired off guns, or committed any other act deemed to be a profanation of it, was imposed the payment of 100 lb. of tobacco, or the punishment of being laid in the stocks. We here see a continuance of the same spirit of legislation which had prevailed in that age, both at home and in the Colony; and a closer approximation to the Puritan discipline of the neighbouring settlements in New

[22] See Vol. i. p. 493, *note*. [23] Hening, i. 430, *note*. 433.

England. The stringency of such regulations may probably be accounted for by the frequent recurrence of the offences which they were intended to check; offences, from some of which it would appear that the legislators themselves were not exempt, for it was one of the orders of the House of Assembly, passed in 1658-9,

'That the first time any member of this house shall by the major part of the house be adjudged to be disguised with overmuch drinke he shall forfeit one hundred pounds of tobacco,' &c.[24]

In the same year, Virginia received intelligence of the death of Oliver Cromwell, and orders to proclaim forthwith his son Richard as Lord Protector. After some hesitation, the Governor and Council expressed, in general terms, the recognition of the authority thus imposed on them; and Committees of the General Assembly were formed for the purpose of securing, under the new government, the privileges enjoyed in former years[25]. The reckless and indefatigable Clayborne, after a brief surrender of his office of Secretary of State, in 1657-8, was again appointed to it; and contrived to be confirmed therein, even after the authority of the Commonwealth ceased to be recognised[26].

Loyalty of Virginia.

That issue soon arrived; and the conduct of the Virginians showed that they were eager to welcome it. Their submission to the Commonwealth had been only of necessity; and, even

[24] Ibid. 433—438. 508.

[25] Ibid. 507—513. Among these privileges, Hening has clearly shown, in contradiction to all the American and English historians of this period, that Virginia was entitled to that of free trade with all the world.

[26] Ibid. 503. 523. 547.

under such circumstances, had never been complete. The conditions obtained upon their first surrender, although granted only for a time, were, in many respects, virtually prolonged throughout the whole period of the Commonwealth. They elected their own Governors; the members of their Council and their House of Burgesses were, for the most part, the same as they had been in the reign of Charles I.; and the affections of the majority of the people were still with his son, the King, in his exile. Many of the Royalist party, moreover, exiles, like their King, from home, found Berkeley's house and purse open to them in Virginia [27]. Charles himself looked to it as a country in which his authority was still respected; for he sent thither a Commission from Breda, in 1650, to Berkeley, as Governor; and Clarendon relates that Berkeley, at one time, wrote to the King, inviting him to Virginia, as his surest resting-place [28]. Hence, feelings of enthusiastic devotion to the monarchy were kept alive among the inhabitants of the province; feelings, akin to those which animated so many of their countrymen at home, and which the poet, whose wit and learning will ever be associated with the history of that age, has so well described, when he says, that,

[27] Norwood's Narrative in Churchill's Voyages, vi. 145. Norwood went out to Virginia, with several of the Royalist officers, in 1649. He was led to choose that province as a place of refuge partly because he was related to Berkeley, and partly because the expenditure required for carrying on sugar-works at Barbados, the most attractive asylum then open to the discomfited Royalists, was greater than he and his companions could bear. Norwood afterwards made a survey of the Bermudas.

[28] Chalmers, 122; Clarendon, vi. 610.

> ‘ though out-number'd, overthrown,
> And by the fate of war run down,
> Their duty never was defeated,
> Nor from their oaths and faith retreated;
> For loyalty is still the same,
> Whether it win or lose the game;
> True as the dial to the Sun,
> Although it be not shined upon [29].

Berkeley re-appointed Governor, 1659-60.

The refusal of Berkeley, in fact, to leave Virginia, at the close of the year originally granted to him; the permission which he then obtained to stay eight months longer [30]; his determination, at the end of that period, to remain still in the province; his re-appointment by the Assembly to the office of Governor, upon the death of Mathews, in March, 1659-60; the declaration, which the Assembly then made, that the supreme government of the country should be vested in their body, until such a Commission as they adjudged lawful should come out from England; and their determina-

[29] Hudibras, Part iii. Canto ii.

[30] Hening, i. 384. Burk justly notices this as an act of great generosity on the part of the Governor and Council, ii. 100. It ought also to have been noticed, as a most remarkable homage, to the excellence of Berkeley's character, and expressive of the sympathy which the Colonial Council (though acting under the Commonwealth) felt towards him. Robertson erroneously states that Berkeley disdained to make any stipulation for himself. Works, xi. 237. Many other of Robertson's statements with respect to this period of Virginia's history are very inaccurate: but it should be remembered, in extenuation of this, that the publication of the ninth and tenth Books of his History of America was a posthumous work; and that his son, not having the guidance of later authorities to aid him, gave the manuscript as he found it. Grahame has repeated Robertson's blunder in nearly his words, i. 100; and for him there is not the same excuse.

tion to regard, as null and void, all laws, and clauses in laws, inconsistent with their authority[31]; are so many distinct evidences to show that the spirit, which led to the Restoration in England, was already anticipated in Virginia; and, that, even if the assertion of most historians be incorrect, that the Royal Standard was then set up in the province[32], there were, nevertheless, hands ready to unfurl it, and voices to bid it a joyous welcome, many months before the tidings came across the Atlantic that it was again actually seen waving upon the forts and palaces of the Mother country.

Philip Mallory.

One of the earliest appointments made under Berkeley's renewed government, was that of Philip Mallory to be chaplain of the Assembly. I have already referred to the excellent character of this clergyman, and to the evidence, afforded by his appointment as examiner of those who came out during the Protectorate, that the Church, in spite of all discouragements, still retained her hold upon the hearts of the Virginians. The Act, notifying his present appointment, shows that he had officiated, in the same capacity, before the two preceding Assemblies; and, apparently, without any salary. But now, a remuneration was publicly ordered to be made to him for his services; and it was further ordered that he and Mr. Peter Lansdale

[31] Hening, i. 527—531. Burk wishes to prove that Berkeley's reappointment was the act of a mob, and not that of the authorities of Virginia, ii. 120: a statement quite at variance with the Acts recited by Hening.

[32] Hening thinks, with good reason, that, if the assertion were correct, some notice of the fact must have been found in the records of the Assembly; but none appears. Ib. 544, note.

should 'be desired to preach at James towne the next Assembly[33].'

Act against Quakers.

It had been well, if the public acts of the Assembly under Berkeley's administration at this time, and their efforts to re-establish and uphold the ministrations of the Church within the province, had been confined to proceedings such as these. But truth compels me to state that it was this same Governor and Council of Virginia from whom emanated, during the same period, the fiercest opposition against the admission of Quakers into the province. The preamble, indeed, of the Act for their suppression, sets forth that Quakers were 'an unreasonable and turbulent set of people,' who, by their 'lies, miracles, false visions, prophecies, and doctrines,' disturbed the public peace and weakened the bonds of civil society: and, so far, it may be said, that the Virginians were justified, by what they believed to be the necessity of the case, in excluding them. The rigorous proceedings also which, under Cromwell, were instituted against Quakers at home, and which the Puritans renewed with such eagerness in the Colonies of New England, may be regarded as a further apology for the hostile spirit manifested against them in Virginia. Nevertheless, after every allowance which may fairly be made upon these several grounds, it is impossible to read, without a blush, the decree which exacted the penalty of £100 sterling from the master or commander of any vessel who should bring a Quaker into the Colony; that all Quakers who might arrive should be at once imprisoned, until they had given security to depart;

[33] Ib. 549.

that fresh penalties were to be imposed upon them, if they came a second time; that, if they returned a third time, they were to be proceeded against as felons; that no person was to entertain Quakers, or to permit any of their assemblies to be held in or near his house, upon pain of paying £100; and that none should presume, upon their peril, to dispose of, or publish, any books or pamphlets which proclaimed their tenets [34].

Maryland during the Protectorate.

Reserving for future notice the fortunes of Virginia in the reign of Charles II., and the evils which accrued to her Church in consequence of the events now related, I will glance for a moment at the condition of Maryland, during the present time. The account already given of its first settlement has shown that our Church had been denied the power of setting up, at the same time, within its borders, any token of her distinctive character; and, therefore, all that I am now required to do, is to take such notice of the events which took place, between that period and the close of the Protectorate, as may suffice to make its subsequent history intelligible to the reader. The mild and equitable rule, indeed, of the Roman Catholic Lord Baltimore, would have shielded the members of our Church, as well as others, from persecution; but the mere fact, that powers so vast as those conveyed under the Charter of Maryland were entrusted to a Roman Catholic Proprietor, was sufficient, under any circumstances, to deter most of the members of our own communion, whether in England or America, from selecting that province for their abode; and the

[34] Ib. 532.

jealousy, with which the Virginians naturally regarded a Colony, planted in lands once belonging to themselves, was an additional reason why the Churchmen of their body should not have wished to fraternize with their neighbours beyond the Potomac.

Its religious divisions.

In 1649, during the administration of William Stone, to whom, after the retirement of his brother Leonard, Baltimore delegated the government of Maryland, an Act was passed by the Assembly, which bears such remarkable testimony to the extent of religious divisions, introduced even at that early period into the Colony, and to the departure from their professions of toleration which its rulers were compelled to make, in their efforts to repress them, that I cannot but call the reader's attention to it. It ordered that

(1) Blasphemy against God, denying our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or denying the Holy Trinity or the Godhead of any of the Three Persons, &c. was to be punished with death, and confiscation of lands and goods to the Lord Proprietary. (2) Persons using any reproachful words or speeches concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of our Saviour, or the Holy Apostles and Evangelists, or any of them, for the 1st offence to forfeit £5 sterling to the Lord Proprietary; or, in default of payment, to be publicly whipped, and imprisoned at the pleasure of his Lordship, or his Lieut.-General. For the 2nd offence to forfeit £10 sterling, or in default of payment to be publicly and severely whipped, and imprisoned as before directed. And for the 3rd offence to forfeit lands and goods, and to be for ever banished out of the Province. (3) Persons reproaching any other within the Province by the name or denomination of Heretic, Schismatic, Idolater, Puritan, Independent, Presbyterian, Popish Priest, Jesuit, Jesuited Papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Round-Head, Separatist, or any other Name or Term, in a reproachful manner, relating to matter of Religion, to forfeit 10*s.* sterling for each offence; one half to the person reproached, the other half to his Lordship: Or, in default of pay-

ment, to be publicly whipped, and suffer imprisonment without bail or mainprize, until the offender shall satisfy the party reproached, by asking him or her respectively forgiveness publicly for such offence, before the chief officer or magistrate of the town or place where the offence shall be given. (4) Persons profaning the Lord's Day by frequent swearing, drunkenness, or by any uncivil or disorderly recreation, or by working on that day (unless in case of absolute necessity), to forfeit for the 1st offence 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling, for the 2nd offence 5*s.* sterling, and for the 3rd offence, and for every other offence afterwards 10*s.* sterling; and in default of payment, for the 1st and 2nd offence, to be imprisoned till he or she shall publicly, in open Court, before the chief Commander, Judge, or Magistrate, of that County, Town, or Precinct, wherein such offence be committed, acknowledge the scandal and offence he hath in that respect given against GOD, and the good and civil government of this Province; and for the 3rd offence, and every time after, to be publicly whipped. (5) And whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matter of religion, hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it has been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this Province, and the better to preserve mutual love and unity among the inhabitants, &c. No person or persons whatsoever, within this Province, or the Islands, Ports, Harbours, Creeks, or Havens, thereunto belonging, professing to believe in JESUS CHRIST, shall from henceforth be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for, or in respect of his or her Religion, nor in the free exercise thereof, within this Province, or the Islands thereunto belonging, nor any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion, against his or her consent, so as they be not unfaithful to the Lord Proprietary, or molest or conspire against the civil government established, or to be established, in this Province, under him or his heirs. And any person presuming, contrary to this Act and the true intent and meaning thereof, directly or indirectly, either in person or estate, wilfully to disturb, wrong, trouble, or molest any person whatsoever within this Province professing to believe in JESUS CHRIST, for or in respect of his or her Religion, or the free exercise thereof within this Province, otherwise than is provided for in this Act, shall pay treble damages to the party so wronged and molested, and also forfeit 20*s.* sterling for every such offence, &c. one half to his Lordship, the other half to the party molested, and on default of paying the

damage or fine, be punished by public whipping, and imprisonment at the pleasure of the Lord Proprietary [35].

Act of the Assembly in consequence.

The latter part of this Act breathes the spirit of toleration which animated the first proprietors of Maryland. But it is strangely inconsistent with the first part. For, how could the profession of a desire to preserve the rights of conscience, or to secure to all persons, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, the free exercise of their religion, be in accordance with an enactment which provided that death, or confiscation of lands and goods, should follow the denial of the Holy Trinity? or that fines, and whipping, and imprisonment, should be inflicted upon any person who spoke reproachful words concerning the Virgin Mary? The opinion expressed by the late eminent American Judge Story, may perhaps account for the first clause of the above enactment; for he says, that, in those days, no sect of Christians thought it possible that a belief in the divine mission of our Blessed Lord, could consist with the denial of any part of the doctrine of the Trinity [36]. But the second can only be accounted for by the necessity, which Baltimore felt was laid upon him, to vindicate from insult some of the distinguishing doctrines of his own creed. He might have been justified in doing this; especially since the deputy-governor, and secretary, and certain members of the Maryland Council, were not Roman Catholics [37].

[35] Bacon's Laws, 1649. This was confirmed among the perpetual laws, 1676.

[36] Story's Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, i. 96.

[37] Langford's Refutation of Babylon's Fall in Maryland, 26.

But, at all events, it was a departure from those principles of government to which his father and he would willingly have adhered; and evidently forced upon him by the crowds of clamorous sectaries pouring into his province, and striving to outvie each other in fierce intolerance. The disputes, in fact, which arose from this and other causes, between the various settlers in Maryland and its proprietors, are the chief materials which compose its history at this time.

Puritan Settlements.

The most important of these were the disputes carried on by certain Puritans, who had emigrated from Virginia. I have adverted to the circumstances under which the sympathy of some of the Virginians with the New England Puritans had been checked by a law of the Grand Assembly: and it seems that, either the same party, who were then compelled to leave Virginia, or another congregation of Independents, who found their way thither soon afterwards, sought and obtained a place of refuge in Maryland. A contemporary writer, indeed, relates, that a whole county of the richest land in the province was assigned to them, with full liberty of conscience, and leave to appoint their own officers, and to hold courts for the management of their own affairs. The celebrated oath of toleration, also, which I have said had been appointed, from the first, to be taken by the Governor and Council of Maryland, gave additional security to the privileges thus conferred upon the emigrants; and, in consequence, says the above writer,

'They sat downe joyfully, followed their vocations cheerfully, and increased in their province, and divers others were by this encouraged and invited over from Virginia. But these people

(he continues) finding themselves in a capacitie not only to capitulate, but to oversway those that had so received and invited them, began to pick quarrels, first with the Papists, next with the oath, and lastly declared their averseness to all conformalitie, wholly agreeing (as themselves since confessed) to deprive the Lord Proprietor of all his interest in that county, and make it their own [38].'

The chief supporters of the Puritans, in these nefarious proceedings, were Clayborne, who is designated 'a pestilent enemie to the welfaire of that province,' and Bennett, the first Governor of Virginia under the Commonwealth. Taking advantage of the authority given to them as Commissioners of the English Parliament, they contrived, in 1652, by a train of violent and dishonest proceedings, to dispossess Stone of his government [39]; and transferred the administration of the province to ten Commissioners named by themselves.

'But it was not religion,' adds the writer already quoted, 'it was not punctilios they stood upon; it was that sweete, that rich, that large county they aimed at; and therefore agreed amongst themselves to frame petitions, complaints, and subscriptions from these bandetoes to themselves (the said Bennett and Clayborne) to ease them of their pretended sufferings; and then come with arms, and againe make the province their own, exalting themselves in all places of trust and command, totally expulsing the Governor, and all the hospitable Proprietor officers out of their places [40].'

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[38] Leah and Rachel, 21—23.

[39] It is related, in the Preface to Bacon's Laws, that Governor Stone was taken prisoner, and ordered to be shot, but that the soldiers, unto whom, no less than unto others, he had endeared himself by the just exercise of the powers delegated to him, refused to execute the sentence. A most touching letter from Stone's wife to Baltimore is given in the Postscript to Langford's Refutation, &c. 19—22.

[40] Leah and Rachel, 24; Langford's Refutation, &c. 4. 10.

The accuracy of the description here given of the rapacity and cruelty of the Commonwealth Commissioners, whilst they lorded it in Maryland, is amply demonstrated by the character of the laws which they forced its Assembly to pass, at that period. Their 'Act concerning Religion,' for instance, was in these terms:

> That none who professed and exercised the Popish (commonly called the Roman Catholic) Religion, could be protected in this Province, by the laws of England, formerly established, and yet unrepealed; nor by the government of the Commonwealth of England, &c. but to be restrained from the exercise thereof, &c. That such as profess faith in GOD by JESUS CHRIST, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline, publicly held forth, should not be restrained from, but protected in, the profession of the faith, and exercise of their Religion; so as they abused not this liberty to the injury of others, disturbance of the peace, &c. Provided such liberty was not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such, as under the profession of Christ, held forth and practised licentiousness [41].

The joy, with which tidings of such tyrannical proceedings were received by the party who sympathized with them, at the same time, in England, is testified in a pamphlet then published, and entitled 'Babylon's Fall in Maryland:' and, although the charges in the pamphlet were speedily proved to be false and scandalous by Langford, an adherent of Lord Baltimore, yet the evil was not removed. That nobleman and his friends still found themselves, both abroad and at home, reviled, and thwarted, and oppressed, by the very men to whom they had been the first to afford protection and peace.

Baltimore, notwithstanding, applied himself, with

[41] Bacon's Laws, 1654.

a resolute and strong hand, to stem the tide which threatened to overwhelm him; and, had he received from Cromwell the assistance to which he was entitled, all grounds, real or pretended, of opposition against his authority would have been removed. But those who molested the peace of Maryland were Cromwell's supporters; and not a word of censure was pronounced against them. In 1656-7, the government was delivered, by the Commonwealth Commissioners, into the hands of Josias Fendall, as the deputy of Baltimore. He proved himself unworthy of that high trust: and, at length, an imperfect compromise was effected between the contending parties; the effect of which was to leave within the province, still nominally under the government of its original proprietor, the elements of a fierce and destructive antagonism in active operation[42].

Here, then, I leave, for the present, the consideration of Maryland; only remarking, what indeed must be obvious to every reader, that it is impossible to imagine a state of things more unfavourable for the future planting of our own Church in the Colony than that which has been here described.

[42] M'Mahon states, p. 18, that, soon after the Commonwealth had thus restored the government of Maryland to its original proprietor, Clayborne, who had so long troubled the Colony, died.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BERMUDAS AND THE WEST INDIES, IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I. AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

A.D. 1625—1660.

The Bermudas.

Of the condition of the Church in the Bermudas, in the time of Charles I. and the Commonwealth, I have been able to gather but very scanty information. The materials, derived from the narratives preserved in Smith and Purchas, which assisted me so greatly in my first Volume, are exhausted; and I have not yet been able to discover any which can be at all compared with them. Smith himself, indeed, becomes again our guide for a short period; but his renewed notice of the Bermudas only reaches to the year 1629, when, as he relates, the government of Captain Philip Bell expired, and Captain Roger Wood succeeded to him, 'a worthy gentleman of desert[1].' All that Smith says of the inhabitants of these Islands, in the account to which I now refer, is comprised in a single paragraph; but, brief as

[1] From the identity of his name and office, it is probable that this was the Philip Bell, who was afterwards appointed Governor of Barbados, and whose excellent administration of that Island will be soon noticed.

it is, the reader may recognise marks of the same nervous and racy style which gives so much interest to his early chronicles of Virginia. The numbers of the inhabitants, he says,

'are about 2 or 3000 men, women, and children, who increase there exceedingly; their greatest complaint is want of apparel, and too much custom, and too many officers; the pity is, there are no more men than women, yet no great mischief, because there is so much less pride: the cattle they have increase exceedingly; their forts are well maintained by the merchants here, and planters there; to be brief, this isle is an excellent bit to rule a great horse[2].'

The Bermudas became, like Virginia and Barbados, an asylum for the defeated Royalists at the close of the Civil War: but their writings supply not any assistance towards the present work. The poet Waller is supposed to have resided, at one time, in these Islands; and the minute picture of their beautiful scenery in his poem relating the Battle with the Whales, could hardly have been drawn but by an eye-witness. Yet, great doubt is expressed by the earliest biographer of Waller, whether he ever set foot upon those shores; and nothing has since been advanced which removes the doubt[3]. One point, however, is quite clear, that, whether Waller visited the Bermudas or not, his influence could have availed but little towards the spread or maintenance of sound religious feelings among his countrymen who resorted thither in their hour of distress. A man, so utterly devoid of integrity and consistency of purpose himself, was not fitted to inspire or sustain those qualities in the hearts of others.

[2] Smith's Travels, &c., in Churchill's Voyages, ii. 402.

[3] See Johnson's Life of Waller, in loc.

But Royalists were not the only parties that fled for refuge to the Bermudas. Both during and after the Civil War, several of their opponents, who had been persecuted for their religious tenets, likewise fled thither. And it is remarkable, that another writer of this age, Andrew Marvell, whose character was in most respects the very reverse of that of Waller, and many of whose political and theological opinions will be condemned by those who are the first to admire his unflinching honesty, in supplying us with evidence of the above fact, has associated his name, like Waller, in verses of exquisite grace and beauty, with that of the Bermudas. He speaks of the

> 'isle so long unknown,
> And yet far kinder than our own;'

on which,

> 'Safe from the storms, and prelates' rage,'

the voice of the worshipper shall God's

> . . . . . 'praise exalt,
> 'Till it arrive at heaven's vault;
> Which, then (perhaps) rebounding, may
> Echo beyond the Mexique Bay[4].'

But that which was the subject of grateful song to Marvell, was the cause of fearful discord among those who survived him. The feuds of Englishmen at home scattered throughout every plantation the seeds of religious discord; and I shall show hereafter, that this

[4] See Marvell's short poem, 'Bermudas.' I have already referred (Vol. i. p. 328) to the manner in which some of our best poets and prose writers, from the days of Shakspeare to the present, have found these Islands a theme for their felicitous powers of description.

hateful work was carried on in the Bermudas to an extent not less deplorable than that which has been described elsewhere. It is some consolation, indeed, to find, that, in the midst of such distractions, the members of our Church in these Islands strove to set up the ensigns of her holy worship among their countrymen who flocked thither. And the simple fact, established by documents which we are about to review, that, in the year 1679, there were not less than nine Churches in the Islands, affords the strongest ground for believing, that, during the present period of misrule and turmoil, the hands of many of our brethren must have been engaged in building up these Houses of Prayer.

Contained nine Churches, in 1679.

I may here mention, as a further proof of their desire to honour God's sanctuary, a fact communicated to me, a few years since, in an interesting account of the Bermudas, which I received from Mrs. Spencer, wife of the present Bishop of Jamaica; namely, that there is still preserved in one of the Churches, an old silver Flagon, bearing date 1640, which was presented as a gift to the Church in Hamilton Parish.

A memorial yet more precious of the piety and zeal which, in those days, were witnessed in the Bermudas, is that connected with the name of Patrick Copeland, the zealous Chaplain of the Royal James, East Indiaman, and the friend of Sandys and Ferrar. I have before traced the earnest sympathy with which he had entered into the designs of those devoted men in behalf of our Western Colonies[5]. We now learn, that, when the selfish policy of James I. had frustrated their schemes,

The Rev. Patrick Copeland.

[5] Vol. i. p. 259.

he went forth in person to the Bermudas, and strove to do what he could in those Islands towards the realisation of his anxious hopes. It appears, from Norwood's Survey of the Bermudas, made in 1662, and still preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, that a tract of land in Paget's Tribe was 'given to the Free School by Mr. Patrick Copeland, sometime Minister of the Word in his Tribe[6].' This land, I am sorry to learn, has since been appropriated to other purposes; but its donor has not been forgotten. I am informed by Mr. Darrell, Her Majesty's Attorney-General for the Colony, that the name of Copeland is retained, as a Christian Name, by several families in the Islands to the present time; and thus the memory of that faithful and devoted minister of Christ who,—whilst he was returning from India, on board the vessel of which he was chaplain,—formed his first plans for the evangelisation of the Western hemisphere, is still, after an interval of more than two hundred years, cherished, with pious gratitude, in these distant Islands of the Atlantic.

West Indies.

From the Bermudas, we naturally pass on to the West Indies. And here, we may remind the reader that Warner had made a settlement in St. Kitt's, towards the end of the reign of James I., and that the proprietorship of that and

[6] No. 6699. I find also in this document, the following passage: 'two shares of land given to the ffree schooll by Mr. ffarrar, in Pembroke Tribe:'—a remarkable illustration of the affectionate and devoted spirit by which, in my first Volume, I have shown that these holy men, Copeland and Ferrar, were animated; and to the efforts which they both made to promote the welfare of our Colonies.

of the rest of the Caribbee Islands, had been conferred, in the first year of Charles I., upon James Hay, the Earl of Carlisle, who assisted Warner in his enterprise. Upon Barbados, we have also seen, an English crew landed as early as the year 1605; but the formal settlement of the Island was not made until the last year of James I., when, by virtue of a grant conferred by that monarch upon Lord Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, a band of Colonists laid the foundations of James Town. Ley soon afterwards consented to waive his patent in favour of Carlisle, upon the payment of a sum of money; so that the entire jurisdiction and proprietorship of the only English possessions in the West Indies, at the accession of Charles I., were vested wholly in the latter nobleman[7].

Nevis, Barbuda, Bahamas Montserrat, Antigua, acquired by the English, under Charles I.

Many more possessions were now acquired by the English in the West Indies. In 1628, Warner, passing from St. Kitt's, began a plantation upon the small Island of Nevis, about half a league distant, and upon Barbuda, a larger Island on the north-east. Another party of English began, about the same time, to plant the Island of Providence, the chief of the Bahamas[8]. In reward for these services, Warner

[7] See Vol. i. c. vii. ad fin.

[8] Anderson's History of Commerce, in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 331—361. In the first commission granted for the government of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, Warner is designated a 'Gentleman.' (Appendix to 'Antigua and the Antiguans,' ii. 306.) Père Du Tertre, in his History of the Antilles, speaks of him as 'un Capitaine Anglois, nommé Waërnard;' and, in 1632, he is described as General Sir Thomas Warner, 'Antigua,' &c. i. 44. The name of the Island is said to have been given to it by Colum-

received the honour of knighthood; and, in 1632, extended still further the limits of the government assigned to him under the Earl of Carlisle, by planting the Island of Montserrat. Some few English families also, under the command of Warner's son, ventured to settle at the same time in Antigua; but little progress was then made towards any extensive colonisation of the Island. In 1639, the Island of St. Lucia was added to the English possessions; but only for a time, and with disastrous consequences; for, two years afterwards, the English Governor, and most of his followers, were murdered by the Carib natives, who thus took vengeance upon the English, for the grievous and cruel injuries which they had inflicted upon so many of their countrymen [9].

Featly's Sermon to the West India Company, 1629.

But they who were engaged in the extension of the English possessions in the West Indies, were not suffered to carry on that work, for the indulgence only of their own avarice or ambition, without hearing any word of Christian warning. From our earliest settlement of St. Kitt's, a faithful and able minister of our Church had been at hand to restrain the violence, and to sanctify by the ordinances of the Gospel of Christ the diligence, of those who resorted thither. His name was John Featly; and the Sermon, which he

bus, from St. Mary of Antigua at Seville, when he discovered and abandoned it in 1493. Ibid. i. 3.

[9] Anderson, ut sup. ii. 408; Account of the European Settlements in America, ii. 86. The particulars of the atrocities inflicted upon the Caribs, by both French and English settlers, are described by the French ecclesiastic, whose historical work is cited in the above note, with a composure which certainly does not indicate any strong sense, in his own mind, of the shameful wrong.

preached at St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, on September 6, 1629, before Warner and the West India Company, is still extant to prove the spirit in which he discharged the duties of his office[10]. They who have read the extracts given in my first Volume from the Sermons, preached at different times before the Virginia Company, by Crashaw, and Symonds, and Donne, will, I think, admit, that, for faithfulness of Scriptural exposition, and for animated and fervid eloquence, they are second to none which can be found upon the same subject in the records of our own or any other Church. The Sermon to which I now refer, may well challenge competition with them, upon these grounds; but, in one respect, it possesses an interest which belongs not to any of the former; for he who preached it had himself borne, and was again about to bear, a part in the work which he exhorted others to undertake. Thus, in his Dedication to the Earl of Carlisle, Featly asserts, that 'the noble worth of' his 'deseruing Commander, Sir Thomas Warner,' had made him 'a Traveller into the Indies, being thereby the first Preacher upon Saint Christopher's Ilands;' and, in another passage, he adds, according to the quaint fashion of that day, 'If any carpe at it [the Sermon], peraduenture it may proue a Mansenile apple (whereof

[10] The preacher of this Sermon was not the well known Dr. Featly, chaplain of Archbishop Abbot, and afterwards of Charles I.; who appeared as a witness against Laud upon his trial (History of Laud's Troubles, 310—313); and who, although he was at first a member of the Assembly of Divines, was afterwards treated with such shameful cruelty by that body. Neal, ii. 234. 387; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. 168—170. These two Clergymen might have been, and probably were, relations; but the Christian name of the former was John, and that of the latter Daniel.

I haue seene diuers in the Indies) that blisters the tongues of them that taste.'

His text is Joshua i. 9: "Have not I commanded thee? Be strong, and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for I will be with thee whithersoever thou goest." He describes the text as one that 'speakes in Thunder, and like the rowsing Drum beates an Alarum;' and, although the consideration of it, he admits, might not be welcome to some of his hearers, 'whose homebred security desires to nuzle itselfe in the sweet repose of a happy peace;' yet he declares that he chose it chiefly for the sake of those among them, whose 'occasions' then commanded them 'to take leave of their Natiue Soile, that they might possesse the land of the Hittites and Amorites, the Habitations of Saluage Heathens, whose vnderstandings were neuer yet illuminated with the knowledge of their Maker.' He next separates the text into two main divisions; the first, comprising the consideration of the Almighty Ruler, who gave this command and promise unto Joshua, and also the authority and fulness of each of them; the second, comprising the consideration of Joshua, who received this command and promise, and the duties, both positive and negative, to which he was thereby bound. In the prosecution of his purpose, Featly displays, with great powers of reasoning and store of learning, a spirit of deep and earnest piety. He was evidently one of the disciples of the Metaphysical School, which flourished in his day, and of whose members Johnson, in his admirable Life of Cowley, has truly said, that, 'if they frequently threw away their wit upon false conceits, they likewise struck out some unexpected truth: if their conceits were far-fetched, they were

often worth the carriage:' and that, 'to write on their plan, it was at least necessary to read and think[11].' These remarks eminently apply to the arguments and illustrations with which Featly's Sermon abounds; and, on this account, also, it is difficult to recast them in a condensed form. The pregnancy of his thoughts, and the terseness of his language, defy abridgment.

The practical application, however, of his argument, under each division of his Sermon, is too important to be overlooked; and I subjoin one or two specimens. In that part, for instance, which is directed to the consideration of the authority and fulness of the commission granted by the Almighty unto Joshua, having shown the great privileges of the Israelites, to whom the commission had been first granted, the preacher extends the possession of them, in the following terms, to all then present, who should at any time undertake the commission of Joshua:

'Let them be assured, that if God hath given them their authority with a "Have I not commanded thee?" the same God will also give them the Promise, "I will be with thee." There is none heere but my speech must addresse itselfe vnto. Those that only walke in the streets, unlesse God hath giuen them his Promise to be with them, may feel his Iudgments by seuerall chances. Those that ride abroad without this Promise, may daily heare of the seuerall afflictions which they, as well as others, haue beene, or may be bitten with. But more particularly We, whose intent it is (with God's assistance) to plough vp the foamie Billowes of the vast Ocean; whose Resolutions have commanded us to visite another World (as Geographers haue termed it), Wee (I say) must first be sure that our Commission runs in the words of my text, "Have I not commanded thee?" and then doubt not but the Promise will ensue vpon it, "I will be with thee." "I will be with thee," Ioshua, not at this time onely, but for euer; and not in this place onely, but "whithersoeuer thou goest."'

[11] Johnson's Works, ix. 22.

Again:

'What manner of persons then ought we to be in all holinesse and vprightness of life? He that runs on in his sinnes (iust like a Moath about the Candle in the night) playes with hell fire, till at last it consumes him. He that makes a profession of holinesse, and seemes to endeuor to be as he appeares, yet harbouring still some bosome-sinne, imitates a Fly shut vp in a Chamber at noon-day, which beholding the day-light through the glasse, beates itselfe to death against that which discouers the light: But he whose heart is vpright, and conuersation iust, flies vp in his Meditations to the highest Heauens, to prepare a place for what is yet imprisoned vpon earth. Whensoeuer hee stayes at home, hee findes God there, and for the time makes it a Bethel: when he goes abroad (with Iacob) he findes God there too, and sets vp a Pillar of Praiers, to make it the Gate of Heaven. When he sleepes, he is clambering vpon Iacob's Ladder vp to Heauen: And when he wakes, he finds God with him then too, ready to accept of his Sacrifice, and protect him vnder the shadow of his wings. The whole Vniuerse can as well teach vs the Omnipresence, as the Omnipotencie of God, and confound the assertions of heathenish Infidelity. Ioshua durst neither question the Power of God, whether hee could be with him, nor his Truth, whether hee would be with him whithersoeuer he went.

'Thus must we then with Ioshua resolue to obey, that we may secure our happinesse. God will be with us, if he promise it; God will promise it, if we desire it; but, without that, no Promise, nor fauourable Presence. God will be with us in Peace, to preserue us in Unity; in the Warres, to giue us the Victorie; in our Natiue Soile, to blesse us with Plentie; and in forraigne parts, to enrich vs with Prosperity; prouided alwaies that (with Ioshua) wee receiue our command from the God of Heaven. But if being commanded, we runne into disobedience, our Peace shall be corrupted with perpetuall Alarums; our Warres shall deuoure vs; our owne Country shall lye waste; and when we seeke abroad, we shall perish where none shall have compassion on us.

'Let us then more especially, which must looke vndaunted upon Death itselfe, by the protection of our Maker, and see his workes of wonder in the Deepes; that must flye from hence vpon the wings of the Wind to the wast places of the earth, to plant the knowledge of his goodness who commands vs to goe; Let us (I

say) more especially assure ourselues that we are dispatched with Ioshua's Commission, that the Sea may be but a Iordan unto us, and the Land we goe to inhabit, a Canaan. Our examples must as much teach the Salvages what we obey, as our Precepts whom we obey. Our Religion must be as well clad in Sinceritie, as our Strength in Courage; that so those ignorant Infidels, obseruing our religious Conuersation, may ioyne with vs in a happy Resolution. Our equall steps and upright behaviour thus inflaming the hearts of the ignorant, it may peraduenture proue in a short space, a greater taske to disswade them from beleiuing us to be Gods, than to perswade them to beleeue that there is a God. Thus may those, which are yet without, be comforted, and may perceiue that God is with us whithersoeuer we goe.'

I will extract only one more passage,—that which concludes the Sermon:

'You that liue at home under your owne Vines, and eate the fruites of your owne Trees; that feele not the terror of want, nor the heate of miseries, to you it belongs to be valiant in suffering (if occasion shall happen) any persecution or crosse which God may iustly inflict upon you, either as a Punishment or Tryal. Besides ye must be valiant in the conflict against the World, the Flesh, and the Deuil, lest if they ouercome, destruction sodainely come upon you, as sorrow upon a woman in travell.

'And againe, for us that go abroad, it belongs in a speciall manner not to be afraid, neither bee dismaid. If the surging waves of a swelling sea smoke out threats and anger, yet he that walked upon the water and breathed a calme, can doe the like for vs too; but we must not be afraid, neither be dismaid. When the tempestuous Winds buzze in our ears, and seeme to speake the language of death, he that once charm'd them with "Peace, be still;" can doe the like for vs too; but we must not feare them, neither be dismaid. If the blustering noise of Guns shall roare in our eares, to threaten our mangling subuersion, yet hee that taught our Enemies to war, and their fingers to fight, can as well vnteach them againe, and strike them with astonishment for our sakes: but he still requires that we should not be afraid, neither be dismaid. Lastly, if the Companie of Indian Archers ranke themselves against vs, yea and promise to themselves our vtter confusion; yet must we know that the Lord, which is a Man of War, (as he hath stiled

himselfe,) which breaketh the Bow in pieces, and knappeth the Arrowes in sunder, can preuent their furie; but his Charge will remaine the same; the same Condition, that wee bee not afraid, neither bee dismaied.

'Let me adde then S. Austin's words of Consolation: "*Deus tibi totum est*," &c. God will be all in all vnto thee: if thou art hungry, he will be bread vnto thee; if thirsty, water; if thou sittest in darknesse, he will shine vpon thee; and if thou art naked, he will cloathe thee with Immortalitie. O let us then, who intend (by the diuine Prouidence) to "sing the Lord's song in a strange land," here make our promise vnto the Almighty, that he shall be the Lord our God, and him alone will we serue. And then the Lord will speake unto us, as he did to Joshua, in the words of our text, "Have not I commanded thee," &c.

'But, before we depart, it remaines that the Testimonie of our Faith, Repentance, Loue, Zeale, and all other divine Graces be sealed here in the face of the Congregation. See how for our Farewell, Christ hath inuited vs all vnto a Feast. O let us draw neere, and receiue our Sweet Jesus into the bosomes of our Soules, that he may receiue us into the Armes of his Mercie. Our louing Sauiour did eate of the Bread of Affliction, that we might eate of the Bread of Life. Our Jesus dranke of the Waters of Marah, that we might drinke of the sweet springs of Liuing Water. Come, let vs feast then both with him, and on him, who fasted for vs; let vs embrace him with reuerence; hold him by faith; keepe him with charity; and preserue him in our soules, with repentance for our wrongs past, and Praiers and striuing against it for time to come; that his victorious Death may be to us a triumphant Life. Thus, when we haue all eaten and dranke together the assurance of our Adoption and Saluation, let vs depart in Peace, with ioy in the Holy Ghost.

'But first, to those that remaine in this flourishing Kingdome, We will cry, "Peace be within your walls, and Plenteousnesse within your Palaces; For our Brethren and Companions' sakes, we will wish you Prosperity." For us, that must arise and seeke out a farther habitation, we will beg of the Almighty with an unanimous consent, that he will be graciously pleased to speake unto us in the words of my Text: "Have not I commanded you? Only be strong, and of a good courage: Be not afraid, neither be dismayed, for I will be with you whithersoever you goe."'

Hindrances in the way of his appeal.

The solemn gathering of the people to whom Featly addressed these words in God's House of Prayer, the supplications and thanksgivings then poured forth, the Scriptures then heard, the Holy Communion then celebrated, are all witnesses to prove, that, among those who joined in the first adventures of our countrymen to the West Indies, were men deeply sensible of the obligations which rested upon them as baptized members of the Church of Christ in their native England. But it was ordained that their hands should not, at that time, be fully strengthened to carry forward the work upon which they had thus entered. Instead of seeing more of their fellow-citizens come out to support them in the same spirit, the numbers of such men, even in their own ranks, became less, and others who succeeded them, neither shared their sympathies, nor echoed their prayers. Nor is it difficult to trace the secondary causes which led to this result. The assignment of the proprietorship of the various Plantations to two different noblemen, Carlisle and Marlborough, had engendered quarrels, which were kept up by their respective partisans abroad long after the question in dispute had been settled at home. Smith, who had experienced in his own disasters, and in those which befell Virginia, the pernicious consequences of divided councils at home, describes, in strong terms, the renewal of the same mischievous course in our West Indian Colonies. It arose, he says, from

'home-bred adventurers,' who wished to have all things as they would conceit and have it; and the more they are contradicted, the more hot they are.—It is a wonder to me (he continues) to see such mischiefs and miracles in men; how greedily they pursue to

dispossess the planters of the name of Christ Jesus, yet say they are Christians, when so much of the world is unpossessed; yea, and better land than they so much strive for, murthering so many Christians, burning and spoiling so many cities, villages, and countries, and subverting so many kingdoms; when so much lieth wast, or only possessed by a few poor savages, that more serve the devil for fear than God for love; whose ignorance we pretend to reform, but covetousness, humours, ambition, faction, and pride hath so many instruments, we perform very little to any purpose; nor is there either honour or profit to be got by any that are so vile, to undertake the subversion or hinderance of any honest intended Christian plantation'[12].

In addition to the above difficulties, as the unhappy reign of Charles went on, the progress of discontent, division, and ruin which kept pace with it, so paralysed every energy which might have been put forth by the Church, in behalf of her members scattered throughout these infant settlements in the West Indies, that no help whatsoever could be extended to them. They were left as destitute as were their brethren in other lands. It was simply the renewal, in those regions, of the self-same process, which was then at work in every other part of the English empire.

Especially in Barbados.

These evil influences were felt in all our West Indian possessions, and in none more conspicuously than in Barbados, the most important of them. Smith says of its people, that there had 'been so many factions among them,' that he could 'not from so many variable relations give any certainty for their orderly government.' The discord and profligacy which prevailed among them in 1625, when Deane was entrusted with its government, was so great, that their first Chaplain, Nicholas Leverton,

[12] Smith's Travels, &c. in Churchill's Voyages, ii. 404.

of Exeter College, Oxford, left his post in despair; and transferred his services to a party who attempted, but without success, to make a settlement in Tobago. Again, in 1629, when Woolferstone was sent out by Lord Carlisle, with a small company under his command, and a grant of 10,000 acres, incessant quarrels ensued between him and the parties who had already gained a footing in the Island, under the authority of the rival proprietor. Upon one occasion, the disputants were about to give open battle to each other, when Kentlane, 'a pious clergyman,' as he is described, rushed in between them, and prevented the effusion of blood, by persuading them to submit their difference to the authorities at home [13].

'The calamities of England,' it has been said, 'served to people Barbados [14].' What a world of misery is revealed in this brief sentence! the Mother-country and the infant Colony placed, side by side, together; the parent shaken to the very centre by fearful discord, and her best life-blood, streaming from many a wound; whilst, around her fresh offspring, are gathered all the same elements which brought confusion and misery to herself. The fertility of its soil had, at first, attracted emigrants of various ranks; and these, as the King's cause grew weaker, were, mostly, his adherents, who saw no hope left to them in their native country. Such men had possessed, to a great extent, the liberty of marking out for themselves their several places of refuge; but this was gradually taken from them, as Cromwell's power increased. And when he became absolute, he made

[13] Ib. 409; Calamy's Nonconformist's Memorial, i. 290; Poyer's History of Barbados, 22.

[14] Short History of Barbados, p. 8.

Barbados a place of banishment for the enemies whom his sword spared. In his Report to Parliament, Sept. 17, 1649, describing the massacre executed by his commands at Drogheda, Cromwell writes,

'When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head; and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only, and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes [15].'

This Island also was fixed upon as a safe place of confinement for many of the prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester; and for others who fell into the hands of Cromwell's officers after the insurrection at Salisbury. The sufferings of the last-named exiles were most barbarous; and I call attention to them, as I pass along, because they illustrate powerfully the evils to which Barbados was then doomed.

Shameful treatment of the Royalist exiles in that Island.

The account of them is given in a pamphlet, entitled 'England's Slavery, or Barbadoz Merchandize,' and published in 1659. It contains a Petition to Parliament from Marcellinus Rivers and Oxenbridge Foyle, on behalf of themselves and seventy more 'free-born Englishmen,' who had all been sold uncondemned

[15] Carlyle's Cromwell, ii. 61. I had thought that no man, save the most extravagant hero worshipper, could have spoken of Cromwell's campaign in Ireland in any other terms than those of condemnation; but Merle D'Aubigné, in his recent 'Vindication' of the Protector, although he is forced to express regret that 'a Christian man should have been called to wage so terrible a war,' and admits that Cromwell showed towards his enemies 'a greater severity than had ever perhaps been exercised by the Pagan leaders of Antiquity,' has yet the hardihood to make it the ground of applying to Cromwell one of our Saviour's beatitudes: "Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God." p. 146.

into slavery. They had been made prisoners at Exeter and Ilchester, on pretence of the Salisbury rising; and, although the indictments against some of them had never been preferred, and in the case of others ignored, and the rest who had undergone trial had been acquitted, they had been kept in prison for a whole year; at the end of which time, they had been snatched out of their prisons, and driven through the streets of Exeter, by command of the then high sheriff, Copleston, under a guard of horse and foot;—none being suffered to take leave of them;—and so hurried to Plymouth, and put on boardship, when, after they had lain fourteen days, the captain set sail, and, at the end of five weeks, landed them at Barbados. The prisoners had been kept all the way locked up in the hold, among horses, 'so that their souls through heat and steam fainted in them.' They had afterwards been sold, the generality of them, to most inhuman persons,

'for 1550 lbs. weight of sugar a piece, (more or less, according to their working faculties,) as the goods and chattels of their masters. Aged persons,' (the Petition goes on to say,) 'of three score and sixteen years, had not been spared; nor divines, nor officers, nor gentlemen, nor any age or condition of men.'

All had been enslaved alike; and were now generally

'grinding at the mills, attending the furnaces, or digging in this scorching island; having nothing to feed on, notwithstanding their hard labour, but potato roots; nor to drink, but water, with such roots masht in it (besides the bread and tears of their own afflictions)—bought and sold still from one planter to another, or attached as beasts for the debt of their masters;—being whipt at their whipping posts as rogues, for their master's pleasure, and sleeping in styes worse than hogs in England, and many other ways made miserable, beyond expression of Christian imagination.'

To this Petition are appended four letters, written by the sufferers to different members of Parliament, and drawing a picture of distress only equalled by that which Macaulay has since given, in his History of England, of the atrocious cruelties inflicted by Judge Jeffreys after Monmouth's rebellion, upon the victims whom he consigned to a West Indian exile [16].

Nothing could be more injurious than the effect hereby produced upon the minds of the English Planters. It was sad enough for them to learn to treat with levity the sufferings of the Negro slave;—of this more hereafter;—but what was this evil, compared to that which must have been created by the spectacle of such brutal tyranny inflicted upon their own countrymen?

Other evil influences.

There was yet another trial which came at that time upon the Barbadians, arising, indeed, from a totally opposite quarter, but hardly less destructive, I think, of those principles upon which alone real prosperity can be established. For, as soon as the emigrants, who fled for refuge to the West Indies, had recovered from their first panic, and become occupied in the work of their Plantations, the rapid growth of their outward prosperity became a snare to the men who rejoiced in it, and a hindrance in the way of accomplishing those beneficent purposes which many, who shared the spirit of Featly, would doubtless have laboured to promote. The sudden transition from a state of defeat and terror to that of confidence and luxury, tempted them to forget the wholesome lessons which chastisement had taught. The source, too, from which wealth flowed into their

[16] Macaulay's History of England, i. 651.

bosoms, supplied ever fresh materials to strengthen their selfishness: for it was the toil of the poor Negro, which made their lands so costly, and their gains so vast. And the gay and careless Cavalier, looking only to the pleasure of the passing hour, and not to the hateful price at which it was purchased, became more callous, as he became more prosperous.

Many authorities concur in showing that Barbados was distinguished by this perilous prosperity. Clarendon, for instance, a contemporary, states that it 'was much the richest plantation,' and 'principally inhabited by men who had retired hither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the king: many of them having served him with fidelity and courage during the war; and, that being ended, made that island their refuge from farther prosecutions:' that they had also 'gotten good estates there;' and that it was 'incredible to what fortunes men raised themselves, in few years, in that plantation[17].' The author also of the Account of the European Settlements in America, now generally acknowledged to have been Edmund Burke, gives a similar description[18]; and Anderson, in his History of Commerce, adds, upon the authority of Ligon, one of the earliest historians of the Island, many more particulars illustrative of the same fact; saying, that an estate of 500 acres, which, before the introduction of the manufacture of sugar, might have been purchased for £400, was soon afterwards worth more than £14,000; that Colonel James Drax, who had

[17] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vi. 610.
[18] ii. 87.

gone out, as an emigrant Planter, with £300, hoped speedily to accomplish his purpose of purchasing a landed estate in England worth £10,000 a year; and that another, Colonel Thomas Modyford, had frequently expressed to the writer, his resolution not to set his face towards England until he should have amassed the sum of £100,000 sterling[19]. These facts account also for the large number of emigrants who went, within a short space of time, to Barbados; so that, in 1650, 20,000 white men are computed to have been in the Island, of whom half were able to bear arms. Another writer, a few years afterwards, declares the population to be 50,000; and adds the melancholy fact, that this was exclusive of Negro slaves, who were a far greater number[20].

The first planting of the Church in Barbados.

Having adverted to the early difficulties of Barbados, let us see the efforts made by the Church to remedy them. That one of her Clergy had been appointed to labour among the first Planters, is evident from the fact already noticed, that he was scared and driven away by the terrors of his position. It has been seen also, that another quickly succeeded him, who, by his piety, and prudence, and courage, could make his voice listened to and obeyed, amid the tumultuous uproar of his countrymen. In the time of Sir William Tufton, who received the commission of commander-in-chief of the Island under Lord Carlisle, in 1629, the six Parishes of Christ Church, St. Michael, St. James, St. Thomas, St. Peter, and St. Lucy were formed. In 1634, Instructions were issued to Governor

[19] Anderson, ut sup. ii. 417.

[20] Edwards, i. 320; Blome's West Indies.

Hawley, concerning the granting of lands, in which it is directed, that, wheresoever such grants were made, the payment of an annual tribute should be reserved to Lord Carlisle, and also that the dues of the Governor and Clergy respectively should be secured: a plain proof that the ministrations of the Clergy were, at that time, going on in the Island.

Governor Bell.

From 1641-2 to 1650, Philip Bell was Lieutenant-governor, to whom the highest character for zeal, and wisdom, and integrity has been assigned. He divided the Island into eleven Parishes, adding five to the six already mentioned, and providing that, in each, a Church should be built, and a Minister appointed to officiate. The five new Parishes were those of St. George, St. Philip, St. John, St. Andrew, and St. Joseph [20].

Acts relating to Public Worship.

The following Acts, relating to public worship, are said to have been passed during his administration; and, as the earliest specimen of legislation upon such matters in our West Indian Colonies, I give them at length:

Whereas divers opiniated and self-conceited persons have declared an absolute dislike to the Government of the Church of England, as well by their aversion and utter neglect or refusal of the Prayers, Sermons, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ordinances thereof, used in their several Parish-churches, as by holding Conventicles in private houses and other

[21] Poyer's History of Barbados, 25—35. It is stated in the Memoirs of the first settlement of Barbados, p. 21, that Bell came to Barbados from Providence, one of the Bahamas, of which Island he had been Governor. This confirms the conjecture which I have made in a note at p. 36, *ante*, that he had been the Governor of the Bermudas. His residence at Providence would fill up the time between his departure from the Bermudas in 1629, and his arrival at Barbados in 1641.

places; scandalizing Ministers, and endeavouring to seduce others to their erroneous opinions, upon a pretence of an alteration of Church-government in England. All which their misdemeanours have begotten many distractions; a great reproach and disparagement to the Church and to Ministry; and disturbance of the Government of this Island: for suppression of which their disorderly courses, It is hereby ordered, published, and declared, and all persons whatsoever inhabiting or resident, or which shall inhabit or reside in this Island, are, in his Majesty's name, hereby strictly charged and commanded, that they, and every of them, from henceforth give due obedience, and conform themselves unto the Government and Discipline of the Church of England, as the same hath been established by several Acts of Parliament, and especially those which are at large expressed in the fronts of most English Bibles: Which Acts of Parliament the Ministers of every Church and Chapel in this Island, are hereby required to read publickly and distinctly in their several Parish Churches and Chapels, that thereby all Persons may know what is their duty in this behalf, and the Penalty they incur by their contempt and neglect thereof, which all that appear faulty in, must expect to have strictly put in execution against them.

And all Justices of the Peace, Ministers, Church-wardens, and other His Majesty's officers of this Island, that may give furtherance to the execution of the aforesaid Acts, are hereby required in His Majesty's name, to do their endeavour therein to the utmost of their powers, as they tender their several Duties to Almighty God, and their Allegiances to our Sovereign Lord the King; and the due execution of several Places and Offices whereto they are called.

Another is to this effect:

That Almighty God may be served and glorified, and that He give a blessing to our labours; It is hereby enacted, that all Masters and Overseers of Families have Prayers openly said or read every Morning and Evening with his Family, upon penalty of forty pounds of Sugar; the one half to the Informer, the other half to the public Treasury of this Island.

That all Masters of Families who live within two miles of their Parish Church or Chapel, shall duly repair thereto, Morning and Evening, on the Sabbath, with their Families, to hear Divine Service; and they which live above two miles from such Church or

Chapel, to repair to such Church once a month at least, under forfeiture, according to the Law of England in such case provided. If a Servant make default of repairing to the Church, according to the true intent of this Act, if the default be in his Master, then his Master is to pay ten pounds of Cotton for every such default; if the neglect be in the Servant, he is to be punished at the discretion of the next Justice of the Peace.

That every Minister begin Prayers every Sunday, by nine of the clock in the Morning, and Preach once that day at the least.

And forasmuch as little care hath been observed to be taken by Parents, or Masters of Families, for the instruction of their Children, or Servants under years of Discretion, in the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, or the knowledge of God; and as little endeavours used therein by any of the Ministers of this Island, so that religion comes thereby to be scandalized, and the worship of God contemned, and all manner of Vices, through the ignorance of persons attaining maturity of years, encouraged and countenanced; and for the better information therefore of all sorts of persons concerning God and the true Religion, It is ordained and enacted by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, and by the Authority of the same, That the respective Ministers of this Island in their several Parish Churches or Chapels of Ease, on every Sunday in the afternoon, do there publicly exercise the duty of Preaching, or of the Catechising and questioning all the Youth, and others that shall come before them, in the points of the Christian Faith, and endeavour by such questions to instruct them concerning God, and the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, and all the Articles of the Christian Faith.

Item. That the Church-wardens of every Parish, shall forthwith provide a strong pair of Stocks to be placed so near the Church or Chapel as conveniently may be, and the Constables, Church-wardens, and Sidesmen, shall in some time of Divine Service every Sunday, walk and search Taverns, Ale-houses, Victualling-houses, or other Houses, where they do suspect lewd and debauched Company to frequent. And if they shall find any Drinking, Swearing, Gaming, or otherwise misdemeaning themselves, that forthwith they apprehend such persons and bring them to the Stocks, there to be by them imprisoned for the space of four hours, unless every such Offender pay five shillings to the Church-wardens of the said Parish for the use of the Poor.

Item. Whosoever shall Swear or Curse, whereby the Name of

God is blasphemed, if a Master or Freeman, he shall forfeit for every such offence, four pounds of Sugar: if a Servant, two pounds of Sugar; and if the Servant hath not wherewithal, then to be put in the Stocks.

Provided this Statute take not away any Master's power in correcting their Servants for the Offence aforesaid; the said Fines concerning the said Masters and Freemen to be immediately paid and levied, for the use of the Parish, out of his Estate.

And it is further ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the Church-wardens of the several and respective Parishes within this Island, be sworn upon the holy Evangelists of God, upon his election to the said Office, for the discharge thereof, by the Justices of the Peace for the respective Parishes, in manner and form according to the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom of England. And that the said Church-wardens, and every of them, do duly make their presentments at the next Quarter-Sessions, by virtue of his Oath, to the end that all persons presented may appear and answer to all such Crimes as shall be objected against them [22].

The following clause, concerning the power of Churchwardens, occurs in another Act, passed during the same administration:

Forasmuch as it is taken into serious consideration, That the levies made by the Vestries of this Island for Church-dues, cannot be fully exacted and satisfied, unless the Church-wardens may have power to attach the Lands where other satisfaction cannot be found, and sell the same: It is therefore hereby enacted, published, and declared, That it shall and may be lawful to, and for all and every person, or persons, that are or shall be Church-wardens of any of the Parishes of this Island, and they shall from henceforth have power granted in their attachment, for attaching and appraising any of the Lands and Housing of any the person or persons that do, or shall stand indebted upon any of their Parish-levies. And in case the said persons shall not satisfy the said levies and

[22] The year in which the above Acts were passed is not dated in the Secretary's Office; but a note appended to them in Hall's Laws of Barbados, pp. 4—6, assigns the time of their enactment to some period in Governor Bell's administration.

arrears, in some merchantable commodities, then the said Church-wardens shall and may make sale of any such Lands and Housing [23], &c.

In 1656, another Act was passed, in consequence of the heavy burdens caused by parochial assessments; and regulations were made for the annual election of sixteen vestrymen by the free voices of all the free-holders of every Parish, on the second Monday in January; and power was given to them to manage the business of the said Parish, and to set rates for defraying all necessary charges [24].

Reflections thereon.

In reading these earliest enactments upon Church matters in Barbados, the same reflections recur to our minds, which were suggested by the Acts of the Grand Assembly of Virginia on the same subject. In both cases, the same strong desire is manifested to spread through an infant Colony the ministrations and ordinances of the Church; and, in both, this desire is disappointed, and the benefits intended by its expression frustrated, by the terms of imperious authority with which the attendance upon such ordinances was demanded; and by the apparatus of fines and imprisonment which was invented to enforce the demand. In both cases, reference is made to the divisions which weakened the Church from within, and to the adversaries which assailed her from without; and, in both, the folly is exhibited of attempting to remedy such evils by the enactment of pains and penalties. In both cases, an attempt is made to guard against the mischief arising from the neglect of his duties by the minister; and, in

[23] It is signed Philip Bell, and dated March 13, 1648. Ib. 14.
[24] Ib. 24.

both, the wretched mistake is committed of supposing that such mischief could be efficiently prevented or restrained by Vestries, or Councils, or other secular rulers, apart from the direct controul of the only lawful ecclesiastical superior.

Ligon's History

The history of Barbados by Ligon, who went to that Island in 1647, is an useful guide for us to follow through this period. He is spoken of by a contemporary writer[25], as 'the ingenious Mr. Ligon, whose flourishes in rhetorick, though in some things poetical, yet in the main do keep such a chain of truth, that the romantick part rather guilds than dislincks the history.' He dedicates his work to Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury; and a letter from that prelate is prefixed, saying, that 'all the descriptions were so drawn to the life that he knew no painting beyond it.' This eulogy is not too strong, if regard be had only to the brilliancy and vigour of Ligon's narrative; but there is a levity and laxness of moral tone in some of his descriptions, especially those of scenes witnessed by him in the Island of St. Jago, at which he touched in his voyage outward, to which I cannot suppose that Bishop Duppa meant his remarks to extend. It is evident also that a large proportion of the ship's company, both men and women, were of the vilest and most abandoned character; and Ligon alludes to it, as a matter of course, without any apparent consciousness that such an arrangement reflected discredit upon the parties who fitted out the emigrant vessel, and would be a sure and fertile source of evil to the new Colony.

[25] The author of a pamphlet, entitled 'Great Newes from Barbadoes.' London, 1676.

His character of the Planters.

Of some of the early planters in Barbados, Ligon gives a very high character; praising them for their humanity, intelligence, and industry; and saying that they strove so carefully to put aside all recollection of the unhappy differences which had distracted them at home, that, 'though they were of several persuasions, yet their discretions ordered every thing so well, as there were never any fallings out between them.' To this end, some of the better sort made a law among themselves, that whosoever named the words Roundhead or Cavalier, should give to all that heard him a dinner, to be eaten at his house that made the forfeiture. By this and other conventional usages, they kept up a frank and affectionate relation with each other, and spread a feeling of harmony and confidence among all over whom they had influence.

Disgraceful treatment of Servants.

But men of such a stamp rarely form the majority in any community; and Ligon's narrative, as might be expected, is taken up for the most part with accounts of a widely different character. His description, for instance, of the manner in which the servants and slaves of planters were treated by them, presents a most disgraceful state of things. Servants were bound to their masters for five years; and, during that term, the masters were left at full liberty to exercise any caprice or cruelty towards them. One instance of this shall be given in Ligon's own words. It occurs in a passage in which he is relating the manner in which the planters were accustomed to rear their hogs, and the price for which they sold them, namely, at fourpence, or sixpence, a pound: and he thus writes:

'There was a Planter in the Iland that came to his neighbour, and said to him, Neighbour, I hear you have lately bought good store of servants, out of the last ship that came from England; and I hear withall that you want provisions; I have great want of a woman servant, and would be glad to make an exchange. If you will let me have some of your woman's flesh, you shall have some of my hogg's flesh: So the price was set, a groat a pound for the hogg's flesh, and sixpence for the woman's flesh. The scales were set up, and the Planter had a Maid that was extreame fat, lasie, and good for nothing. Her name was Honor. The man brought a great fat sow, and put it in one scale, and Honor was put in the other. But when he saw how much the Maid outweighed his sow, he broke off the bargaine, and would not go on. Though such a case (adds Ligon) may seldome happen, yet 'tis an ordinary thing here, to sell their servants to one another for the time they have to serve; and in exchange receive any commodities that are in the Iland [26].'

And of Slaves.

But, whatsoever were the sufferings of the servant, they ended at the expiration of five years. The slave, on the other hand, was doomed to drudgery and toil, which ended not until he was laid in his grave. There only, did he cease to "hear the voice of the oppressor;" there only, at the last, was he "free from his master [27]." Let Ligon again be our guide in this matter:

'When the slaves are brought to us,' are his words, 'the Planters bring them out of the ship, where they find them stark naked, and therefore cannot be deceived in any outward infirmity. They choose them as they do horses in a market; the strongest, youthfullest, and most beautifull yield the greatest prices. Thirty pounds sterling is a price for the best man negro; and twenty-five, twenty-six, or twenty-seven pounds for a woman; the children are at easier rates.'

Of the utter contempt with which slaves were treated by their purchasers, Ligon gives this affecting

[26] Ib. 59. [27] Job iii. 18, 19.

proof. A Negro had once been ordered to attend upon him in the woods, through which he was causing pathways to be cut to a Church, about to be erected there; and expressed great astonishment and admiration at a mariner's compass, which Ligon carried about with him for his guidance through the forest. The slave asked him many questions about the movement and standing still of the needle, which Ligon answered as he best could; upon which, after musing a long time in silence, he asked to be made a Christian, thinking, as Ligon writes, that

'to be made a Christian, was to be endued with all the knowledges he wanted. I promised,' he adds, 'to do my best endeavour; and, when I came home, spoke to the Master of the Plantation, and told him that poor Sambo desired much to be made a Christian. But his answer was, That the people of that Iland were governed by the Laues of England, and by those Lawes we could not make a Christian a slave. 'I told him that my request was far different from that, for I desired him to make a slave a Christian. His answer was, That it was true, there was a great difference in that: But, being once a Christian, he could no more account him a slave, and so lose the hold they had of them as slaves, by making them Christians; and by that means should open such a gap, as all the Planters in the Iland would curse him. So I was struck mute, and poor Sambo kept quite out of Church; as ingenious, as honest, and as good a natur'd poor soul, as ever wore black, or eat green.'

Generosity of the Negro.

This narrative would be imperfect, were I to omit another specimen which the same writer gives of the Negro character. It happened, that, during a time of scarcity, some turbulent and discontented slaves conspired to burn down the boiling house of the Plantation to which they belonged. The design was frustrated by the information of some other slaves belonging to the same Plantation; whereupon the conspirators were punished,

and the indulgence of a day's liberty, and of a double portion of food for three days, was offered to the men through whom the plot had been discovered, and to their families. But they all refused to profit by the indulgence; upon which, the Planter, being perplexed and alarmed, sent for three or four of the best among them, and asked the reason of their conduct. They replied, says Ligon,

'that it was not sullenness, or slighting the gratuitie their Master bestow'd on them, but they would not accept any thing as a recompence for doing that which became them in their duties to doe; nor would they have him think it was hope of reward that made them to accuse their fellow-servants, but an act of justice, which they thought themselves bound in duty to doe, and they thought themselves sufficiently rewarded in the act. The substance of this, in such language as they had, they delivered, and poor Sambo was the orator; by whose example the others were led both in the discovery of the plot, and refusal of the gratuitie. And withall they said, that, if it pleased their Master, at any time, to bestow a voluntary boone upon them, be it never so sleight, they would willingly and thankfully accept it; and this act might have beseem'd the best Christians, though some of them were denied Christianity when they earnestly sought it. Let others,' adds Ligon, 'have what opinion they please, yet I am of this beliefe, that there are to be found among them some who are as morally honest, as conscionable, as humble, as loving to their friends, and as loyall to their masters as any that live under the sunne[28].'

The review here taken of the history of Barbados, from the earliest period at which it became a possession of the British empire, will show, that, whilst many causes hindered the extension of true religious influences among its people, it was not left without witnesses to declare the necessity, and the blessedness, of such help. The historian, whom we have cited, tells us how his sympathies were excited in

[28] Ligon, 45—54.

behalf of the Negro slave who was his companion in the forest, at a time when they had both penetrated its recesses for the purpose of finding a fit spot upon which to erect a Church, and cutting a pathway for worshippers to repair to it. In a later part of his work, also, he confirms the statements which I have gathered from the memoirs of its first settlers and the legislative proceedings during Bell's government; for he says, that the Parishes in the Island were, at the time of his being there, from 1647 to the second or third year of the Commonwealth, eleven in number; and, that, although no tithes were paid to the minister, yet a yearly allowance was made of a pound of tobacco upon each acre of every man's land, besides certain Church duties for marriages, christenings, and burials[29]. Blome, also, whose account of the British possessions in America and the West Indies, was published a few years later, states that the number of Churches and Chapels, at that time, was fourteen.

Barbados yields to the Commonwealth, 1651.

Barbados was the first of the Transatlantic possessions of England, to which Cromwell deemed it necessary to send a force for the purpose of compelling that subjection to his power which its inhabitants, of them-

[29] Ib. 101. Ligon relates, in the same passage, that the Laws in Barbados, for all criminal, civil, ecclesiastical, and maritime affairs, were the same as in England, and administered by a Governor and ten Members of Council. There was also a House of Assembly, a Supreme Court for the last Appeals; for making new laws, or abolishing old. It consisted of the Governor, as chief of all; his Council, in nature of the Peers; and two Burgesses, chosen by every Parish for the rest.

The reader will find much valuable information respecting Barbados, in Sir Robert Schomburgk's recently published History of that Island.

selves, were unwilling to yield. Having already made this Island, in the first year of the Commonwealth, a receptacle for the miserable Irish Roman Catholics and English Royalists who were saved from slaughter, he sent Admiral Ayscue against it, in 1651, with a strong fleet, and summoned it to surrender. Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Governor, refused to obey the summons. He had formerly served with distinction on the Parliamentary side, and been made general of the horse under the Earl of Essex; but, being disgusted with the refusal of Parliament to make a treaty with the King, had withdrawn from their service; was afterwards impeached; and, escaping to Holland, and thence to Barbados, openly espoused the cause of Charles II., from whom he had received a commission, whilst in Holland, to act as Governor of the Island[30]. Ayscue, finding his first summons set at defiance, tried to awaken the Governor's alarm, by sending to him an intercepted letter from his wife, Lady Willoughby, in which she gave an account of the defeat at Worcester. But this attempt failed. Willoughby still refused to surrender; and, had all his people been as resolute as himself, the resistance which he made to the first attack might have been successfully maintained. But their fears compelled him at length to submit; not, however, without obtaining honourable terms of capitulation for himself and his followers. The subjugation of Barbados to the Commonwealth involved that of all the other English possessions in the West

[30] Edwards states that Lord Willoughby had also obtained from Lord Carlisle a lease of his rights for twenty-one years; but kept it secret from the resident Planters, lest they might have objected to the transfer, i. 331.

Indies; and the report of this success greatly facilitated, as we have seen, the reduction of Virginia under the same authority, by means of a squadron detached for that purpose from Ayscue's fleet [31].

Jamaica taken, 1655.

Cromwell soon afterwards wrested the large and valuable Island of Jamaica from the Spaniards, and made it the centre of British dominion in the West Indies. A century and a half had elapsed since that Island had been discovered by Columbus. Its government had descended as an inheritance to his son Diego, by a decree of the Council of the Indies at Seville, in spite of the efforts of King Ferdinand to set it aside. Through the marriage of Diego's daughter, in whom all the rights of the inheritance eventually centered, with a member of the house of Braganza, it had been transferred for a time to Portugal; but, in 1640, reverted by forfeiture to the Crown of Spain. Twice, during that period, English invaders had landed upon its shores, and plundered its chief town; Sir Anthony Shirley, in 1596; and Colonel Jackson, in 1638. But these were mere predatory assaults, which the Spaniards more than repaid by the frequency and cruelty of their attacks upon the English settlements. The Spaniards lorded it, in fact, over every portion of land and sea in that quarter of the globe, as if the decree of Pope Alexander VI.,—which, at the close of the 15th century, had awarded the whole Western hemisphere to the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon,—were a lawful, and not a worthless, instrument; and these aggressions, in their turn, provoked the

[31] Clarendon, vi. 610; Whitelocke's Memorials, 498—506; Biog. Brit. (Art. Ayscue.)

wondrous feats of piracy detailed in the history of the French and English Buccaneers.

Cromwell alleged that the proceedings of Spain in the West Indies, during the early years of the Commonwealth, were violations of the treaty then existing between that country and England; and fitted out an expedition, in 1654-5, under the command of Penn and Venables, with orders to capture Hispaniola, the stronghold of Spanish dominion in the West. But the expedition, ill-planned and worse conducted, totally failed: upon which its commanders turned their arms against St. Jago de la Vega,—now called Spanish Town, and, at that time, the capital of Jamaica,—which, with the whole Island, soon fell an easy prey into their hands[32].

Reasons inducing Cromwell to this act.

Into the consideration of all or most of the arguments which have been urged by various writers, in condemnation or approval of this act of Cromwell, it is not my office to enter. I will only advert briefly to some of the reasons inducing him to it, which were avowedly placed upon the ground of religious duty, and, therefore, deserve notice in the present work. They are worthy of remark, also, as illustrating the train of thought and action which at that time prevailed in England, and to which the minds of most men had become so familiar, that we find them almost unconsciously spreading the cloak of religious service over acts and intentions that were plainly repugnant to religious truth. Thus, in a paper delivered, in 1653, to Vermuyden, the Dutch ambassador, relating to a commercial treaty between England and the United Provinces, Cromwell proposes,

[32] Edwards's West Indies, B. ii. c. i. ii.

'That teachers, men gifted with knowledge of Jesus Christ, shall be sent by both states respectively, unto all people and nations, to inform and inlarge the Gospel and the ways of Jesus Christ.'

So far, all seems fair and reasonable. But, upon reciting the motives likely to influence the two nations in concluding such a treaty, the strange intermixture of ambitious and worldly policy with professions of religious zeal becomes apparent. The paper declares it to be necessary for the prosperous union of the two nations, that

'They should take in hand such enterprizes, as will occasion them to gather more strength in shipping and seamen, the better to resist and defend, and to be for the enriching of both states, and for the propagation of true religion:' that they were also 'to remember, how the Spaniard hath been busy this hundred years or more, to settle him into a fifth monarch; and to bring these devices to pass, they did massacre, murder, bring to martyrdom them of the Reformed religion throughout all Europe: also the power of the states of Rome joined with his wicked ends, and effected by power of armies, employed all the wealth of America yearly thereunto, and will so still, so soon as he can find an opportunity if not prevented:' also, 'how many hundred thousand poor innocent Indians the Spaniard with cruelty hath slain and murdered without a cause, on purpose to make him master of all America, and to have room for the Spaniards; it concerneth both states to consider how blind ignorant all that part is (being near the moiety of the world) in the true knowledge of Jesus Christ; and what an infinite good should arise to the honour of God, by the increasing the kingdom of Jesus Christ, to make a conquest upon the Spaniard there:'—'that, by doing so, there would of necessity follow the unableness of the Spaniard, that having lost America, his sword, as it were, is taken out of his hand; and so, consequently, all Europe will be discharged of the cruel wars, and perpetual attempts and plots, either by himself or by the Emperor in Germany, who there of late was near to have extirpated the true religion, and did set up instead thereof popery and idolatry, and this by the help of the Spaniard's money:'—'that this conquest of America, as can be made appear, may be in the general done in one year, (if secretly,) and the

Brazils the second year, and with no more ships; but that England and the United Provinces may easily furnish them, and yet not to so many as both now have to use the one against the other; and by this conquest England may very well enjoy such a revenue, as to discharge all taxes of the subjects of England, and to pay all the navy and forces by sea and land, by the customs of America, besides the great trade and riches the subject shall have thereby [33].'

How skilfully is the combination here made between the desire to propagate religion among the heathen, and the prospect of acquiring power and wealth by the conquest of America and the Brazils!—power, that should take the sword out of the hand of the most formidable antagonist in Europe; and wealth, that should supply the means of defraying every expenditure at home and abroad.

The observations addressed to the Protector, in 1654, upon the same subject by Thomas Gage, formerly a Roman Catholic Priest, officiating in the West Indies, were couched in the same strain [34]; exhorting him, in the same sentence, to strike down those his enemies with the arm of his power, and praising the faith, wherewith he waited for the conversion of the poor Indian, and longed to see 'the light run more and more forwards, until it should settle in the West among the simple and purblind Americans.' The like insinuations against Austria and Spain characterize this document, coupled with

[33] Thurloe, ii. 125, 126.

[34] His recantation Sermon, entitled 'The Tyranny of Satan, discovered by the teares of a converted Sinner,' was 'preached in Paule's Church, August 28, 1648.' Gage describes himself, in the title-page, as 'formerly a Romish priest for the space of 38 yeares, and now truly reconciled to the Church of England.' In p. 17, he relates the story of a curious event which happened to him, as he was saying mass in a town of the West Indies.

every argument which Gage could bring together, to show the success with which England might then attack the Spanish possessions in the Western hemisphere. He does not confine his attention only to the West Indian Islands; but the Honduras, Guatemala, Yucatan, Mexico, and even Peru, are, one by one, described in the most alluring terms, for the purpose of stirring up Cromwell to some aggressive act against them. And then, in the conventional phraseology of the day, the writer thus concludes:

'These few observations (having espied, as Joseph Egypt, that fat & rich country) I thought it my duty to present unto your highnesse, as did formerly Columbus present unto King Henry the Seventh his discovery of the rich part of the world, which then was not regarded. God would not make that prince such an instrument for the advancing his glory, as hee hath made your highnesse. The Lord grant that your faith may yett be active abroad, as well as at home. The Lord grant that yett you may ride on prosperously, conquering and to conquer. The Lord make your highnesse, as our protector, so also a protector of those poore Indians, which want protection from the cruelties of the Spaniards. The Lord make your highnesse yett his instrument for the enriching of this poore island; and the Lord, who is rich in mercy, inrich your soule with the spiritual riches, which is, and ever shall be, the constant prayer of your highnesse most faithful servant, and daily oratour before the throne of Grace, Thomas Gage.'

A letter of Colonel Modiford also, written about the same time from Barbados, speaks similar language; describing, with greater minuteness, the course to be pursued by any expedition which should be sent out for the purpose of assailing the possessions of Spain; and advising that the English should attempt to settle Plantations in the continent of South America, and particularly on the banks of the Orinoco[35]. Modi-

[35] Thurloe, iii. 59—63.

ford, I have already said, was one of those who had served on the King's side in the Civil War, and upon whom the dignity of Baronet was conferred after the Restoration[36]. It is evident, that, during the interval, he strove hard to propitiate the Protector and his friends: and not without success; for, upon the reduction of Barbados under the Commonwealth, Searle was appointed its first Governor, and remained in that office until Cromwell's death, when the Committee of Safety appointed Modiford his successor[37].

Jamaica during the Commonwealth.

Upon the capture of Jamaica by the English, conspicuous evidences were found of the care taken by its Spanish masters to establish in that Island the symbols of their faith. Among these, were two Churches, named the Red and White Cross, and an Abbey, all of which were erected in the capital, St. Jago de la Vega[38]. But that destroying zeal, which had made such havoc of our noble sanctuaries at home, and broken "down all the carved work thereof with axes and hammers," was not likely to spare, and did not spare, the altars of Popish enemies abroad. These Churches were among the first that fell a prey to the fury of Cromwell's army. To his officers, forming a Military Council, in conjunction with certain Commissioners, was entrusted the entire government of the Island; and this state of things continued until the Restoration. Fortescue

[36] Edwards, i. 331.

[37] Short History of Barbados, p. 19.

[38] It is said also, upon the authority of Sir Hans Sloane, in the Preface to his Natural History of Jamaica, that, in the city of Seville, upon the north side of the Island, the ruins of which were visible in his time, 1687, a Cathedral had been built, of which the celebrated author of the Decades, Peter Martyr, was Abbot, and Suffragan of the Archbishop of St. Domingo.

was the first president of the Military Council; and, upon his death, D'Oyley was appointed his successor, under Sedgewicke, the chief Commissioner. As a means of peopling the Island with inhabitants from home, the Council of State voted that a thousand young women, and as many men, should be enlisted in Ireland, and sent over; and Cromwell issued his commands to the Council of Scotland, that they should order the Sheriffs of the several counties 'to apprehend all known idle, masterless robbers and vagabonds, male and female, and transport them to the Island[39].' Thus, upon Jamaica was inflicted a portion of the same curse which had fallen upon most of our other Plantations in that day,—would that we could say that the evil has ceased to operate in our Colonies in our own day!—that of being burdened and tainted with some of the vilest outcasts of the Mother country[40].

The character of Fortescue.

Scenes of intense suffering rapidly followed each other in Jamaica; and are described in letters preserved in Thurloe's Collection. Before the death of Fortescue, many of them had appeared; and he exhibited, amid them all, a spirit of calmness and patient hope which proves him to have been no ordinary man. The religious phraseology, indeed, so prevalent in that day, was adopted,

[39] Long's History of Jamaica, i. 239—256; Thurloe, iii. 497.

[40] Witness the language of the late Dr. Arnold upon this subject, in a letter to Sir John Franklin, then Governor of Van Diemen's Land: 'I am sure that no such evil can be done to mankind as by thus sowing with rotten seed, and raising up a nation morally tainted in its very origin. Compared with this, the bloodiest exterminations ever effected by conquest were useful and good actions.' Arnold's Life, &c. by Stanley, ii. 46.

oftentimes, by many whose religion was nothing else but words. But Fortescue was not one of these. Although exposed to constant attacks from the inhabitants of the Island, and seeing his own ranks daily thinned by the ravages of famine and disease, he could nevertheless write to his friend, 'Mr. Taylor, Minister of the Gospell,' in the following strain:

'Who knowes whether God hath not sent us before to make way for the gospell? I hope God will incline and dispose the heart of such as fear God, to come and sitt downe amongst us. We have encountered and waded through many hardships and difficulties; but all's nothing, soe as we may be instrumentall to propagate the gospell. Were it not in this confidence, I should have sunk in the worke, as others have done, but this consideration beares me up. Doubtless God is doinge a greate and strange worke. Who would not be forward to have a hand in it? Meethinks I can doe and suffer on that account, that I may see the promises and prophecies fulfilled, and, which is more, to be instrumentall therein, tho' an honour of which I am not worthy; yet such honour shall his people have. Consider and revolve God's word and the present worke; and let none stande still that be helpfull and serviceable in God's worke. Had I 5000 lives, 1000 sons, all should be offered up to it.—I trust God will spirit men for this worke, and give them other hearts: men of ordinary spirit are not fitt for extraordinary atchievements. What a desirable and joyfull thinge would it be, to see many godly men flock and flow in hither, there is accumodation worke for them! Here they may serve God, their countrey, and themselves. I dare say, he that cumes on such accounts shall not have cause to repent his voyage: many there are that came out with us vauntinge, as if they would have carried the Indies, bigg with expectation of gold and silver ready told up in baggs, not findinge that, but meetinge with some difficulties and hardships, and wish that they were at their onyons, &c. Severall of such, according to their desires and discontents, we have dismist, and may returne with shame enough.'

It appears that seven Clergymen had been sent out to minister among the troops,—selected, of course, on account of the congeniality of their views with those

of the men who then ruled with absolute authority at home,—but six of these were soon removed by death, or incapacitated by wasting sickness. And yet, whilst this diminution of their numbers was going on, a few weeks after the date of the above letter, there appeared the following declaration, signed by Fortescue, in the name and on behalf of the officers under his command:

'Forasmuch as we conceive the propagation of the gospel was the thing principally aimed at and intended in this expedition, I humbly desire that his highness will please to take order, that some godly, sober, and learned minister may be sent unto us, which may be instrumental in planting and propagating of the gospel, and able to comforte and stop the mouth of every cavilling adversary and gainsayer, and the rather for that two of the ministers are already dead, and a third lieth at the point of death[41].'

The man who, at such a time, and under such circumstances, could thus think and write, must be looked upon with respect, even by those who have no sympathy with the rulers by whom he was employed, or who may disapprove many of the acts which he was the instrument to execute. In spite of all the deep hypocrisy and cruel fanaticism which were so frequently the reproach of the school in which Fortescue was brought up, he was evidently one who held fast his integrity; and his memory is worthy of all honour. The character of Sedgewicke also appears fully to merit the eulogy bestowed upon it by the best historians of Jamaica. But both these men were soon numbered with the dead. D'Oyley succeeded to them; a brave and intelligent officer, who maintained his position against the factious spirits of the army as successfully as against the

And of D'Oyley.

[41] Thurloe, iii. 651. 681; Long's History of Jamaica, ii. 234.

Spaniards, who then, and for some time afterwards, made vigorous efforts to retake the Island. He had not, however, the confidence of Cromwell; and was superseded by General Brayne, in 1656. In a few months more, Brayne fell a victim to the destructive climate; and D'Oyley resumed and retained the command until the Restoration, when he was confirmed in it by Charles II. It was, probably, the suspicion entertained by Cromwell that D'Oyley was more disposed to favour the King's cause than his own, that made him so long reluctant to entrust the Colony to his hands; and D'Oyley, with a frankness which reflects upon him the highest honour, solicited Cromwell, after the death of Brayne, to confer the office upon Colonel Barrington. But his request was not complied with; and he continued to maintain a successful defence against the Spaniards, and to spread the spirit of order, more and more, throughout the ill-assorted masses of his own people. With all this firmness and sagacity in command, he rigidly abstained from any unlawful attempt to enrich himself. Temptations to it abounded on every side. But D'Oyley resisted all. And, with clean hands and honest heart, having guided the Island through many difficulties and perils, he gave it up to his lawful King a thriving Colony [42].

His kindness towards the Quakers.

The humane spirit of D'Oyley towards the Quakers ought not to pass unnoticed. He writes thus to Thurloe, in 1657, respecting them:

'There are some people lately come hither, called Quakers, who have brought letters of credit, and do disperse books amongst us. Now my education and judgment prompting me to an owning of

[42] Long, 257—285.

all that pretend any way to godliness and righteousness (whereof these people have a very great appearance), and the prints telling me that other heads of their people are contriving against the government, and accounted conspirators against his highness (so the book calls them) hath put me to stand how to carry myself towards them.' He acknowledges them to be 'people of unblameable life;' and asks for advice as to the course which he should persue[43].

I cannot find what answer was returned to this enquiry; but, at a time when the Statute Books of our own country, and of New England and Virginia, were so frequently disgraced by the most oppressive and cruel enactments against Quakers, it is some consolation to feel that they should have been looked upon with kindness and consideration by a soldier and suspected Royalist, the Governor of our largest Island in the west.

Guiana.

Another Plantation, Guiana, in this quarter of the globe, now attracted a considerable share of the attention of the English. I have already described its association with the name of Ralegh, in the closing years of his eventful life; and the expeditions made to it, both before and after his death, by Leigh and Harcourt and North[44]. The grants which had been made to the two latter were afterwards united by mutual consent; and, upon this account, Harcourt urged again upon the attention of Charles his 'Relation of Guiana,' which, we have seen, he had published and dedicated to him, in his father's reign. He did so, to use his own words,

Harcourt again attempts to colonize it.

'for the purpose of showing what hopefull successe (through God's

[43] Thurloe, vi. 835. Long thinks it probable that most of these Quakers soon left Jamaica for Pennsylvania, i. 278.

[44] Vol. i. pp. 369—371.

blessing) may be expected from the prosecution of so worthy an enterprise: first, by the glorious propagation of God's holy Church, and our Christian Religion amongst those Heathen nations, whose hearts, like waxe or white paper, are ready to receive any seale or impression we shall imprint on them.'

Towards the conclusion of his work, he restates the 'three principall ends to be observed in every forraine action,' which he had urged in his former edition; and introduces them with the expression of the following important reason for dwelling upon them,

'Because our intention is (by God's favour and your Majesties gracious assistance) not only for Trade and Traficke (as aforetime) but for a reall Plantation of the County, and Propagation of true Religion, than which nothing can be more profitable, honourable, and Holy.'

The noble objects proposed to himself therein.

The 'three principall ends' upon the observance of which Harcourt here insists, are 'first, that it may bee for the glory of God; secondly, for the honour of their Soveraigne; thirdly, for the benefit and profit of their countrey.' I will only call the reader's attention to the first of these; and it shall be given in the author's own words:

'It hath beene, and ever will bee held deere and vnquestionable, that God cannot be more honoured, nor his holy name by any meanes more glorified, than by the prosperous growth and happy increase of his Church, through the conuersion of those that bee heathen and barbarous Nations to the knowledge of him our true God, his Sonne Jesus Christ, and the holy Ghost, the blessed individuall Trinitie, and to the profession and practice of Christianity; which heauenly and euer memorable worke, may through God's good blessing and assistance (without which indeede all our trauell therein, and all the labour of the world is but lost) bee easily effected and accomplished in Guiana; the people thereof being of a louing and tractable nature towards the English whom they loue and preferre before all other strangers whatsoeuer: and by whom

(next vnder God) I verily hope, and am constantly perswaded, it will bee their blessed happe to bee freed from the servitude of the divell, that now so tyranizeth ouer them, and to be led out of that infernall darknesse wherein they liue, and bee drawen to Christianity: for they will come vnto us (already) at time of prayer, shew reuerence, and bee very attentive all the while, although they vnderstand nothing: they will bee content that wee baptize their children, and will call them by the Christian names wee giue them, suffer vs to bring them vp, and in a sort acknowledge their ignorance, and shew a kind of willingness to be instructed and reformed[45].'

The allusions of Harcourt in this passage, to the instruction of the natives, and to the baptism of their children, prove, that, in his expedition, as in those before referred to, there had been present those who, like 'Tederington, the Preacher,' who accompanied the earlier expedition to Guiana[46], were bound, by virtue of their sacred office, to communicate that instruction, and to administer that rite. But I have failed in finding any further authentic account of the results of an appeal made, and, after an interval of thirteen years, so earnestly renewed by Harcourt. Smith indeed says that a new Company was formed, uniting the two Patents granted to Harcourt and North; that four ships, with near 200 persons, were dispatched to Guiana, in the years 1628-9; and that a hundred English and Irish had been led thither from Holland, by the old Planters. I have not ascertained the issue of these enterprises; but, if the statement in Collins's Peerage be correct, that the family property of the Harcourts was encumbered, for two generations afterwards, in consequence of the large sums

[45] Harcourt's First Relation, &c., 59, 60.

[46] See Vol. i. p. 370.

expended upon these adventures by their ancestor[47], it is probable that little advantage of any kind resulted from them; and men, being thereby discouraged, would naturally turn a deaf ear to the high and solemn considerations which Harcourt pressed upon them.

Another attempt was made, in the same quarter, in 1632, under the authority of Thomas, the first Earl of Berkshire, and second son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk[48]. A pamphlet appeared in promotion of the scheme, entitled 'A Publication of Guiana's Plantation, newly undertaken by the Rt. Hon. the Earle of Barkshire, &c. and Company for that most famous river of the Amazones in America. Wherein is briefly showed the lawfulnesse of plantations in forraine Countries; hope of the natives' conversion; nature of the river, &c.' The initials J. D. are given at the end of the pamphlet; and the manner in which it is written, leads me to wish that I could have ascertained the name and position of its writer more precisely. I subjoin a few of his remarks upon the hope entertained by him of the natives' conversion. He founds it generally upon their character, which he describes as

A like spirit evinced in the Pamphlet of J. D., in aid of Lord Berkshire's settlement.

'harmlesse, tractable, trusty, and somewhat laborious; in which respect (he adds) they differ much from all other Americans; and which is better to bee liked in them, there is good hope conceived of their conversion to the Christian faith, for as the man of Macedonia prayed St. Paul in a vision to come into Macedonia and helpe them, so have some of these poore ignorant soules desired Captain Charles Leigh to send into England for

[47] Smith's Travels, Churchill, ii. 405; Collins's Peerage, iv. 440, *note*.

[48] Ib. iii. 154. 159—161; Clarendon, iii. 546.

some men to teach them to pray; since which, one being converted and become a Christian, being at the point of death, desired some of our nation then present to sing a Psalme with him, which being ended, hee told them hee could not live, and did withall acknowledge that he had been a wicked sinner, but did hope that hee should be saved by the precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and moreover, hee desired all of them present, to beare witnesse that hee died a Christian, yea, said hee, a Christian of England.'

The following passage also is important, as showing, by the testimony of a living witness, the evils which I have frequently pointed out:

'Although it cannot bee denied but that our nation of late years, hath beene very forward in settling of divers plantations beyond the seas, yet have they not all thereby so much glorified God as could be wished, nor dealt so faithfully with some adventurers as was expected, which thing no doubt being considered by many, hath beene the onely cause of keeping them backe from being adventurers, and no marvell, if when we consider the persons commonly sent (I speake not of all, but of such onely) whose lives being base and idle here at home, can hardly bee expected to be much better abroade in forraigne plantations, which, to speake truly, have beene no other (for the most part formerly) then common sinkes, wherein too many grieved fathers have cast in their desperate offspring, and the commonwealthe her most lawlesse inhabitants; such as by their conversations cause the good name whereby they are called to be rather "evil spoken of amongst the Gentiles" than otherwise; by means whereof it hath happened that the heathen have deemed that God as evil as their owne, whose servants were worse than themselves. Doth not God and nature teach, that "Whatsoever a man sow, that shall hee also reape?" "Not grapes of thorns, nor figgs of thistles," can men expect. And now, though plantes of grace (like fruitfull trees) are chiefest to be wished for in al plantations, yet no doubt may civil men be sent in case of want, as nature's flowers for ornament. I wish therefore that care were had to send those plants, and leave the bad.'

In a later part of his pamphlet the author gives directions to three classes of adventurers, who were to

be permitted to embark in the enterprise; the first, consisting of those who were to assist in person and purse, and to be called 'personall adventurers;' the second, of those who were to assist in purse only, and to be called 'purse adventurers;' and the last, of those who were to assist in person only, and to be called 'servants to the Collony.' The contributions and profits, the duties and privileges, of the members of each class, are then carefully enumerated; and, in this part of the arrangement, there is manifested a most scrupulous spirit of justice towards all the parties concerned: after which, the writer thus concludes:

'Having briefly shewed the hopefulnesse of this plantation above others, whereby such as are faithfull (having ability) might become chiefly adventurers therein, and that such as are outwardly poore (yet rich in faith) might likewise adventure their prayers with them, for the prosperous successe of this new plantation; that it may be as a vineyard which the right hand of the Lord hath planted, and may grow up before him in the wildernesse "being filled with the fruits of righteousnesse, which are by Jesus Christ unto the glory and praise of God," amongst the heathen, who seeing our pure conversation may bee wonne thereby to the knowledge and love of God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Which that they may so do, grant, O most gracious God, that as thou wast pleased to love us, when we were enemies as these, so likewise bee pleased to love these with us, that we and they may both agree to worship thee in sincerity of heart and vnity of faith.'

The history of this fresh attempt to colonise Guiana, under the authority of the Earl of Berkshire, is involved in obscurity as great as that which surrounds the proceedings of Harcourt and his associates. I am disposed, however, to believe that the Earl of Berkshire did not prosecute his enterprise with vigour. The unhealthiness of the climate, the opposition of many of the natives, the interruptions by rival settlers

from France and Holland, and, more than all, the increasing conflicts at home, in which he bore a prominent part on the King's side, were hindrances in his way. The chief English settlement was at Paramaribo, on the Surinam river; and this, after a temporary abandonment, was again occupied in 1652[49].

This renewed settlement does not appear to have been made under the authority of Berkshire; but, probably, by those English Cavaliers whom Lord Willoughby, soon after his first appointment as Governor of Barbados, sent out from that Island to take possession of the country under Colonel Rous. They kept their hold upon their country; and, in 1654, Major William Byam was elected Lieutenant-governor by the unanimous suffrages of the Colonists, and, in every succeeding year, re-elected by the Council and Assembly. Another officer, indeed, was sent by Cromwell to supersede him; but he withdrew upon finding the people of Surinam staunch in adhering to the ruler of their own choice[50].

Surinam.

Soon after the Restoration, the whole territory was granted by the King to Lord Willoughby, whom he re-appointed Governor of Barbados; and by him the title of Surryham, in honour of the Earl of Surry, is said to have been given to the river on which Paramaribo was situate; whence not only the river, but the whole of the adjoining territory was called, with a slight alteration of form, by the name, which it has ever since retained, of Surinam.

[49] Schomburgk's British Guiana, 82.

[50] I am indebted for this and other valuable information to Mr. Edward S. Byam, a descendant of the above officer. An interesting memoir of the Byam family is given in 'Antigua and the Antiguans,' ii. 314.

The British Crown soon afterwards purchased the Colony from the heirs of Willoughby, and exchanged it with the Dutch for the important settlement in North America, then called New Holland, and now New York [51].

Puritan influences.

The operation of Puritan influences may be traced in Surinam as in most other places at this period, reflecting faithfully the state of affairs at home, and hindering the efforts of our Church as often as she attempted to extend her ministrations abroad. The adhesion of Willoughby to the Parliamentary side, in the earlier period of the Civil War, had brought him into friendly relation with leading members of the Presbyterian party, and drawn around him many zealous and stirring men who were evil affected towards the ordinances and discipline of our Church. One of these men, Nicholas Leverton, went to Surinam. I have already mentioned him, in connexion with the earliest history of Barbados, as the Chaplain who had not resolution enough to remain at his post amid the dangers which then assailed that Colony [52]. He left it, as I have said, for Tobago; where his hope of assisting to form a Plantation upon safer grounds was again doomed to be disappointed. He then proceeded to Providence Island, which had become, at an early period of the troubles in England, a place of refuge for many of the Nonconformists. Their minister was a Mr. Sherwood, through whose influence, it is said, Leverton was induced to reject the authority to which his ordination as a minister of the Church of England had made him subject, and to fraternize with those who cast unjust reproach upon her worship.

[51] Martin's British Colonies, ii. 3.

[52] See p. 50, *ante*.

The Governor of the Island, Lane, sent him home in consequence; but, as the opposite party had already gained the ascendancy at the time of his arrival in England, Leverton was soon set free, and returned to Providence Island. Upon leaving it, some time afterwards, the ship in which he sailed was frequently becalmed, and the passengers were exposed to grievous sufferings through lack of food. A vessel, bound for the Bermudas, most opportunely came to their aid; and Leverton gladly turned aside to those Islands, where he is said to have preached for the space of a year 'with acceptance.' He was married during his residence at the Bermudas; and also became intimately acquainted, at the same time and place, with another Nonconformist minister of considerable note in that day, John Oxenbridge.

Leverton and Oxenbridge.

The fact that two such men were, at such a time, engaged as ministers of religion in the Bermudas, confirms my remarks at the beginning of this chapter, and explains the state of things in those Islands, which I shall soon have to describe.

Upon returning to England, during the Protectorate, Leverton renewed his acquaintance with Sherwood, and was appointed to a living in Suffolk, from which he was ejected after the Restoration. Betaking himself, in this extremity, to his friend Oxenbridge, who like himself had been deprived of preferment which he held at Berwick-upon-Tweed, Leverton proceeded by his advice to Surinam, where he soon afterwards died[53]. Oxenbridge, in fact, addressed to all who were disposed to listen to him, a very strong appeal, in behalf of

[53] Calamy's Nonconformists' Memorial, i. 290—295.

what he believed to be the proper means for evangelizing that new Colony, in a pamphlet, entitled, 'A seasonable proposition for propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies in the continent of Guiana; being some gleanings of a larger Discourse drawn, but not published.' He relates therein that the Plantation under Willoughby on the river Surinam had been bought at the request of the Indian inhabitants; and, as a proof of the kindly feeling of the natives, he adds that a single English family whose father was Jacob Enosh, had lived there peaceably for two years before it had been assigned to Willoughby. The Scriptural arguments employed by Oxenbridge in his pamphlet, are well chosen and ably pursued; and the same mournful reflection arises from the perusal of them, which is so frequently awakened by the history of these times, that, whilst sincere piety and ardent zeal dictated and enforced such arguments, the spirit of intolerant strife weakened them; and that the visible body of the Church of Christ was made for the time helpless by this disruption of her members. The whole life of Oxenbridge appears to have been passed in religious discord. His earliest post of duty was that of Tutor of Magdalen Hall, Oxford; and of that he was deprived, in 1634, because he refused to give up the practice, which clearly he had no right to establish, of persuading his pupils to subscribe certain articles of his own framing. Thus, leaving his Church, and University, and native land, he became more and more estranged from them during the next few years of his life which he passed at the Bermudas. Afterwards, through the interest of the Long Parliament, he was appointed a Fellow of Eton College; and, during his residence there, we find Andrew Marvell his

companion and friend[54]. We then follow him to Berwick-upon-Tweed, and next to London, and see him still active and earnest in inviting the help of others, whose views were congenial with his own, and pointing to the new settlements in Guiana, as the most inviting and profitable field of labour. As time passed on, and the bonds of brotherhood between him and other Nonconformists were drawn together more closely, he adopted their phraseology in all its strangest forms; and a more striking instance of extravagance of this kind can scarcely be imagined than that which appears upon the title-page of the pamphlet which has given rise to these remarks; for he announces the proposition therein argued and proved, to be 'by John Oxenbridge, *a silly worme*, too inconsiderable for so great a work, and therefore needs and desires acceptance and assistance from above.' But he was not content with urging by words his countrymen to enter upon the work. He led the way in his own person; and remained for some time at Surinam in the diligent discharge of his duties. He thence proceeded to New England, where he at length ended his vexed career[55].

[54] See a letter written by Marvell to Milton, from Eton, in 1654. Milton's Life, i. xl. 4to. ed.

[55] Wood, in his Athenæ Oxonienses, has dealt unfairly, I think, with the character of Oxenbridge; but, happily, most of his aspersions are removed in a note, appended to the article, in Dr. Bliss's valuable edition.

CHAPTER XII.

AFRICA, INDIA, AND THE LEVANT, IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I. AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

A.D. 1625—1660.

Slavery.

Before I direct attention to other quarters of the globe, I wish briefly to remark upon the rise and progress of Slavery,—a fact which has been constantly forced upon our notice, in surveying the Islands and Continents of the West. The practice had been coeval with the earliest period of the subjugation of these countries to European masters. Even the halo of glory which surrounds Columbus is dimmed by the spectacle of the 500 Indian slaves whom he sent home for sale at Seville[1]. In Cortez, the remembrance of those perilous and eventful scenes through which he had passed, and in which his own relentless will was oftentimes the sole law which governed him, awakened, in the closing hours of his life, many a solemn thought as to the extent to which the exercise of power by the European over the Indian could be justified[2]. And the continued repe-

[1] Irving's Columbus, b. viii. c. v.

[2] See the clause of his Will, in Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, iii. 306, where Cortez expresses 'a doubt whether it is right to

tition of the most savage cruelties against the poor inhabitants of St. Domingo and other places by their Spanish invaders, aroused so strongly the indignation of Bartholomew Las Casas, a zealous Dominican Friar, and afterwards Bishop of Chiapa, that he returned and pleaded their cause before the rulers of his native land. Thousands upon thousands of the natives, according to his account, had perished under the barbarities practised upon them; and the Spanish name had thereby become so hateful to the Indian, that one of their chiefs, who was tied to a stake, and ready to be burnt to death, rejected, it is said, the entreaties of a young devout Franciscan, who had urged upon him the profession of faith in the true God and the prospects of the blessings of heaven, saying, that heaven would be only a place of torment to him if he were to meet there (as the Franciscan assured him that he would) with any who belonged to such a cruel nation[3]. Las Casas propounded to his countrymen

The opinions of Las Casas,

exact personal service from the natives without compensation,' and adds this remarkable declaration: 'It has long been a question whether one can conscientiously hold property in Indian slaves. Since this point has not been determined, I enjoin it on my son Martin and his heirs, that they spare no pains to come to the exact knowledge of the truth, as a matter which deeply concerns the conscience of each of them no less than mine.'

[3] Purchas, iv. 1569—1574. In corroboration of this account of Las Casas, Sir Hans Sloane, who went out as physician to the Duke of Albemarle, Governor of Jamaica in 1687, relates, in the Preface to his Natural History of that Island, that he had seen quantities of human bones in caves in the woods, which were supposed to be the remains of the wretched natives who had voluntarily shut themselves up therein, and starved themselves to death, that they might be rid of the tyranny of their masters. The same cir-

a remedy for the evils; but, unhappily, the enforcement of the remedy only paved the way for the more systematic importation of Negroes from the coast of Africa into the Spanish Colonies. As early as the year 1503, a few of them had been sent thither. Eight years afterwards, Ferdinand had permitted them to be carried in larger numbers; and, although by Cardinal Ximenes such nefarious traffic was peremptorily forbidden, yet, after his death, a Patent was granted by Charles V. to one of his Flemish favourites, for the exclusive privilege of importing 4000 Negroes into America; and this Patent, having been purchased by some Genoese merchants, enabled them and their successors to give a permanent character to this disgraceful branch of commerce[4]. Charles indeed repented him of the measure, and listened with no unwilling ear to the remonstrances urged against it by his Confessor, Dominic Soto. To that learned monk and profound philosopher, must be assigned the praise of having been the first who dared to vindicate, against the pride and arrogance of kings and nobles and merchants, the rights of the poor African. The principle upon which he rested all his arguments was this, that,

And of Dominic Soto.

'There can be no difference between Christians and Pagans, for the law of nations is equal to all nations.'

Hence, when Soto heard of Africans being carried off by fraud or force, and sold as slaves, he hesitated not

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cumstance is mentioned by Long, ii. 153, upon the authority of Esquemeling, who wrote in 1666.

[4] Herrera, quoted in Robertson's America, Works, viii. 318, 319.

to say, openly and boldly, in the crowded halls of Salamanca, in which he delivered his lectures,

'If this is true, neither those who have taken them, nor those who have purchased them, can ever have a quiet conscience, till they emancipate them, even if no compensation should be obtained [5].'

Charles V. was aroused by this indignant exposure of the wrongs which had been committed, and did what he could to repair them; but it was too late. The love of power and of gold, passions which seldom slumber in the heart of man, were now stimulated into quick and eager action; and they who had let them loose, could not, with like ease, recall them. Leo X. might give a righteous judgment upon the matter, which the Dominicans and Franciscans, disputing about this very question, referred to him for decision, and say, 'that not only the Christian religion, but that nature herself cried out against a state of slavery.' Our own Elizabeth, too, might look coldly upon Hawkins when he came home, with the unenviable distinction of having been the first English captain who had shared the base spoils of Negro traffic, and condemn, as some have said she did, in unqualified terms, the wickedness of the act [6]. But, if Europe placed no greater restraints than these upon the unlawful desires of her children, it was clear, that, as soon as the opportunity arrived, the indulgence of them would be gratified to the utter-

[5] De Just. et Jure, lib. iv. quæst. ii. art. 2, quoted in Mackintosh's Preliminary Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy, Encyc. Brit. i. 314.

[6] Clarkson, i. 37—41. I have referred (Vol. i. pp. 86, 87,) to the reasons which cast discredit upon the story here told of Elizabeth.

The growth of Slavery in the English Colonies.

most. And so it came to pass. The introduction of Slavery into our Colonies in North America, we have seen, was caused by the arrival of a Dutch vessel at James Town in Virginia, in 1620. And the purchase of the twenty Negroes who then formed part of her cargo, was followed so speedily by larger purchases, that, fifty years afterwards, Sir William Berkeley reported the population of the province to be 40,000, of whom 2000 were black slaves [7]. We have seen also the contemptuous indifference respecting slaves which prevailed, from the outset, in Maryland [8]. And, although in New England, a noble stand was made against traders to the coast of Guinea for Negroes, and an order passed for the restoration of them to their native country; yet the native Indians, taken in war, were doomed, without any scruple, to perpetual slavery [9]. In the West Indies, also, wheresoever English adventurers set their foot, they acted, as a matter of course, on the basis already laid down by the Spaniards or roving pirates of the Antilles, who had preceded them; and regarded the slave always as the absolute property of his master. In Barbados, we have seen, that, rapid as was the increase of the English Planters, the number of slaves was far greater; and although the Act, declaring Negroes to be real estates, was not passed in that Island until 1668 [10], yet the description given in the last chapter of their treatment,—a description, which

[7] Vol. i. p. 265; Hening, ii. 515.

[8] Vol. i. p. 489.

[9] See the authorities quoted from Winthrop and the Colony Records, by Bancroft, i. 174, and 168, 169.

[10] Hall's Laws, 64.

applies alike to the native Creole and to the imported African,—proves the hopeless degradation of their state. In Jamaica, the number of Negroes, at the time of its capture by the English, was nearly equal to that of the whites[11]; and the hardships, there encountered by the English, were not likely to mitigate their feelings towards the slave. No better state of things prevailed in Surinam, as appears from a pamphlet, by George Warren, in the reign of Charles II., and entitled, 'An impartial description of Surinam.'

'The negroes (he says) or slaves are for the most part brought out of Guiney in Africa to those parts where they are sold like dogs, and no better esteem'd but for their work sake, which they perform all the week with the severest usages for the slightest fault, till Saturday afternoon, when they are allowed to dress their own gardens or plantations, having nothing but what they can produce from thence to live upon; unless perhaps once or twice a year, their masters vouchsafe to them, as a great favour, a little rotten salt fish; or, if a cow or horse die of itself, they get roast meat; their lodging is a hard board, and their black skins their covering. These wretched miseries not seldome drive them to desperate attempts for the recovery of their liberty, endeavouring to escape, and, if like to be retaken, sometimes lay violent hands upon themselves; or, if the hope of pardon bring them alive into their master's power, they manifest their fortitude, or rather obstinacy, in suffering the most exquisite tortures that can be inflicted upon them, for a terrour and example to others, without shrinking.' The writer adds, that 'they believe the ancient Pythagorean errour of the soul's transmigration out of one body into another, that when they dye, they shall return into their own countries, and be regenerated, and so live in the world by constant revolution; which conceit makes many of them over-fondly wooe their deaths, not otherwise hoping to be freed from that indeed unequall'd slavery.'

It will be seen, in a subsequent chapter, how some of our Clergy in the West Indies

AFRICA.

[11] Edwards, i. 157.

strove, soon afterwards, under the severest difficulty and discouragement, to repair these evils. At present, I proceed to trace other relations which subsisted between our own country and the unhappy land of Africa.

The English sometimes enslaved by the Moors.

I have before remarked, that, whilst the English thus multiplied the number of Negro slaves, in America and the West Indies, without manifesting any consciousness of the wrong thereby inflicted, there were not wanting frequent instances, in which the same outrage was committed against their own people by the Moors; and the ransom paid for their redemption from slavery, or the forces sent out to rescue them by force from the grasp of their oppressors, showed how quick and resolute England was to resent, on behalf of her own children, the injustice which she dealt out in such abundant measure unto others. Instances have been referred to, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, in which England strove to relieve such of her citizens as were then carried into slavery by the Algerine corsairs; and I have expressed the regret, which all, I think, must feel, that the hatred of such oppression, so promptly manifested by our countrymen, when they were the sufferers, had not restrained them from being guilty of the same sin. The period of our national history, now under review, furnishes fresh instances of the same character, and fresh causes for the same regret. In the first year of Charles I., when an expedition was planned against Spain under Buckingham, instructions were given to detach some of his ships to the port of Sallee, for the purpose of negotiating the ransom of English prisoners in that place, and for

Remedial measures.

protection against piracy. In the next year, an envoy was commissioned to proceed from this country to the same port for the same purpose; and, in order to effect an exchange of captives the more easily, he took out with him all the Moors who had at any time been taken by our vessels. A like mission was sent out in 1628. In 1632, an English squadron assisted the Emperor of Morocco, at his request, in destroying the fortifications of Sallee, and rescuing 300 Christian captives, who were given up to Charles I. And a message from the King to both Houses of Parliament, April 28, 1642, declares 'that he had passed a bill, at their entreaty, concerning the captives of Algiers [12].'

Sermons also were not unfrequently preached for the purpose of exciting sympathy on behalf of those who thus suffered; and collections made in many of the Parishes throughout England for their relief, as some of our Parochial Registers, extant at this day, will prove.

Fitz-Geffry's Sermons on this subject.

Of the Sermons upon this subject, the most remarkable are three preached by Charles Fitz-Geffry, at Plymouth, in 1636, entitled 'Compassion towards Captives; chiefly towards our Brethren and Countrymen, who are in miserable bondage in Barbarie.' The text is Heb. xiii. 3: "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body." The preacher, having given an appalling picture of the sufferings of Christian slaves in Barbary, draws the following con-

[12] Rymer's Fœd. xviii. 171. 793. xix. 25; Anderson's History of Commerce, ut sup. ii. 371; Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 379.

trast between the former and present condition of that country:

'Were Barbary as it was before it turned Barbary, there would be some comfort of living in it, when it was famous for arms, arts, civility, piety. How many renouned Martyrs, reverend Bishops, famous Fathers, hath Africk yeelded unto the Church. To Africk, we doe owe zealous Cyprian, learned Tertullian, fluent Fulgentius, acute Optatus, and the greatest light of the Christian Church (after S. Paul) divine Augustine. Insomuch that posterity could as hardly have missed that country as any one nation in the Christian world. But now a man may seeke Africk in Africk, and not finde it. Insteed of Africk, we find Barbary and Morocco; insteed of Martyrs, Martyr-makers; insteed of Confessors, opposers of Christ, oppressors of Christians; insteed of godly Ministers, godless Mufties; insteed of Temples and Schooles, cages of uncleane birds, dens of thieves.' Hence he applies a warning to Christian England, lest, through her contempt of God's mercies, He might make even her "fruitful land" in like manner "barren," 'and leave no more signes of our Cathedrall Churches then there is now to be found of S. Augustine's Hippo, or S. Cyprian's Carthage.'

His appeal towards the end of the first Sermon, for the relief of the English captives, is strong and earnest:

'Remember them,' he repeats, 'Nay, how can you (if you have Christian hearts) forget them? sooner should your right hand forget her cunning, sooner should you forget both right hand and left, sooner should you (with Messala Corvinus) forget your owne names then your brethren's intolerable bondage, who have given their names to Christ, and daily suffer such greevances because they will not renounce the name of Christ. O! let not your enioyed liberty and present prosperity banish them and their thraldome out of your memory. While you sit safe at home, and see the smoake of youre owne chimnies, breathe in the best, your owne English ayre, they sit downe "by the waters of Babylon, and weepe" at the remembrance of Sion. While you "feed on the fat of lambes, and drinke wine in bowles," they eate the bread of sorrow, and drinke dry the river Marah. While you have your musicke at bankets of wine, their wine is their teares; the jingling of their chaines, their sorry musicke; broken hearts, their harpes; sighing, their singing; and

some prolonged hope of enlargement by your charitable contribution, their only earthly comfort. While you come to the Temple and to the Table of the Lord, doe heare the word of the Lord, may have the ministers of the Lord come unto you, to conferre with you, to comfort you, (though too few doe make use of such happinesse), they (deare soules) doe see nothing but "the abomination of Satan," the God Manzim, the mocke God Mahomet, circumcised Cadees, urging them in the language of Satan, If thou wilt have ease or liberty, "fall downe and worshippe me." '

A passage occurs in his third Sermon, remarkable for the story to which it refers, and for the specimen it gives of the play upon words, so frequently made by writers of that day. He is arguing against the excuses of covetous men for not helping that work of charity, and says:

'Our covetous Nabals have their topicks, common-places, whence they fetch arguments against giveing and relieving. They offer to defend their Baal by God's book which doth utterly overthrow it. Busbequius, a grave author, sometimes embassadour to the great Turke from the German Emperor, reports how forward the Christian merchants were in Pera (a place adjoyning Constantinople) for the redeeming of certaine Christians there held captives. Onely there was one out of whose fingers could not be wrung one farthing towards the advancement of this charitable designe. His reasons were more unreasonable than his refusall, 'What these men are (said he) I know not; this I know, that their affliction is from God. Let them continue in that case into which God hath cast them, untill it please him to free them. Seeing it pleased God thus to punish them, who am I, that I should release them, unless I would be found to fight against God?' O cunning Sophister, Satan, who by arguments from the will of God, can impugne the will of God, and from his providence maintaine covetousnesse, the main opposite unto God's providence. Mine author gives not the name of this monster. Only he saith that he was an Italogrecian, a mungrel between a Greek and an Italian. Such as his lineage was, such was his language. God forbid that there should be among us such mungrels, to barke out such dogged speeches. This is certaine; compassion can have no admittance into the heart, where the evill spirit, covetousnesse, doth keepe possession.'

Towards the end of the same Sermon, he gives a description (too long to extract in this place) of the boldness with which the Moorish pirates then braved the very mouths of some of the English harbours, and landing, under cover of the night, upon the coast, dragged away in bonds the defenceless men and women and children whom they surprised.

Fitz-Geffry has appended to his Sermons an admirable letter of Cyprian, when he was Bishop of Carthage, to the Bishop of Numidia, concerning the redemption of Christian brethren from the bondage of the barbarians; and also an extract from Ambrose's Second Book of Offices on the Benefits of Compassion. Several of the arguments contained in the former of these, he has worked into the body of one of his Sermons; and the strongest of them,—namely, that based upon the intimate union subsisting between Christ and all the members of His Church, and the consequent obligation to honour Christ in relieving them,—he has repeated in nearly the same words. The whole train of thought, both in the Sermons and Appendix, is excellently elaborated and adapted to the proposed end; and the only wonder is, that it never should have entered into the mind of one so engaged, that the oppression which he was so forward to denounce when the English suffered it, was all this while inflicted by English hands in the growing Colonies of the west.

Other testimonies, of like character with that furnished by Fitz-Geffry's Sermons, occur, at a later period, in other shapes. It is recorded, for instance, in the life of Cosin, Bishop of Durham, who died in 1672, that he gave £500 towards the redemption of

Christian captives in Algiers. A letter also is extant, from a writer who designates himself B. M., to Bishop Compton, in 1701, concerning the charities collected for the redemption of captives in the empire of Morocco; and among Dean Sherlock's works is an 'Exhortation to those redeemed slaves who came in a solemn procession to St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 11th of March, 1701-2, to give thanks to God for their deliverance out of their captivity at Machaness.'

The second African Company, 1631.

And yet England, indignant thus against all who dared to enslave her own children, and anxious thus to soothe their sufferings, and to sanctify their sorrows, put forth the hand of avarice and of violence to enslave the African, and cared nothing for the anguish that was sure to follow. Of the beginnings of this hateful traffic in human flesh, by our countrymen, in the time of Elizabeth, and of the further efforts to organize its continuance, by the establishment of a Company to trade with Africa under James I., I have already spoken[13]. I have now to notice the renewal of a similar attempt by Charles I., when, in 1631, he erected a second Company, for thirty-one years, for the purpose of trading to the coasts of Guinea, Benin, and Angola, and the Isles adjacent, and prohibited all persons, except the Patentees upon whom he conferred the privilege, from entering, for the purposes of commerce, within the prescribed limits. The intrusion of the Dutch prevented the Patentees from profiting by the grant; and hence the immediate objects for which they had been incorporated were put, a second time, into abeyance. But the forts and warehouses, which

[13] Vol. i. pp. 85, 86. 375.

they had erected upon the coast, were meanwhile made use of by the East India Company, to whom the Parliament had granted, in 1651, a Charter for five years [14].

During the Protectorate, in 1657, a suggestion was made to Thurloe, Cromwell's Secretary, by Monk, that he should obtain possession of Tangier. But this was not accompanied by any desire to check or mitigate the Slave Trade: on the contrary, the policy of allowing the Portuguese to continue that trade is therein openly avowed:

'I understand,' writes Monk, 'the Portugal Ambassador is come to London; and I make no question but he will be desiring some favour from my lord protector. There is a castle in the Strait's mouth which the Portugals have called Tanger, on Barbary side: and which, if they would part withal, it would be very useful to us; and they make little use of it, unless it be for getting of Blackamoors; for which his highness may give them leave to trade [15].'

INDIA. Reserving for future consideration the renewed organization and encouragement of the Slave Trade under Charles II., I pass on to review our relations with India during the present period. The first Charter, to an East India Company of this country, had been granted, we have seen, by Elizabeth, at the beginning of the 17th century; and, within three years afterwards, the first English factory was established at Surat. The second Charter was in 1610, from James I.; under which fresh factories were settled, commerce was extended, and an ambas-

[14] Anderson's History of Commerce, ii. 369. About the year 1635, the French also settled on the Senegal. Ib. 390.

[15] Thurloe, vi. 505. The suggestion here thrown out, was acted upon soon afterwards: for, in the marriage of Charles II. with Catharine of Portugal, Tangier was made part of her dowry.

sador, Sir Thomas Roe, sent to the court of the Mogul. With this early and rapid extension of the English name in India, had been connected severe and destructive conflicts with their European rivals; first, with the Portuguese, who, as early as 1510, had taken possession of Goa, and made it the centre of their dominion in the East; and, secondly, with the Dutch, who at the same time with our countrymen, were trying to establish themselves in various parts of India. The expulsion of our people from the Island of Banda by the Dutch, and the cruel tortures and massacre perpetrated against them by the same nation at Amboyna, were among the losses sustained before the end of James's reign [16]. These events, together with the encouragement given, then and afterwards, to private traders, or, as they were called, Interlopers, account for the little progress made by the East India Company, during the early years of Charles I. They still retained their factories; Surat, on the coast of Malabar, and Bantam, on the north side of Java, being the chief. On the Coromandel coast, their agents were found at Masulipatam, and Armagon; and built at the latter place a factory in 1625, and a fort for its protection three years afterwards. In 1633, the rich province of Bengal was opened to them, permission having been, then for the first time, obtained from the Mogul to enter the mouth of the Ganges. And, in 1640, by leave of the Naig of the District of Madraspatam,

Progress of the English.

[16] Anderson's History of Commerce, 305 and 318. It was not only in India, that the East India Company thus suffered; for, at home, the Duke of Buckingham extorted from them, in 1624, £10,000 for permission to set out upon one of their intended voyages. Ib. 327.

confirmed afterwards by the King of Golcondah, the English built at that place a factory and fort, which still retains the name then given to it, of Fort St. George, and is now the seat of one of the three great Presidencies of our Indian Empire [17].

But these important advantages were more than counterbalanced by severe losses and opposition both abroad and at home. The commercial profits of some of the Company's agencies, although scanty and uncertain, stimulated the cupidity of others of their countrymen to compete with them in the same adventures. And the year 1637 was marked by the establishment of Courten's Association, so called from the name of its chief member, which was nothing less than a new Company, receiving licence to trade with India, China, and Japan, for five years; and in which the King himself, as well as the members of his household, condescended to have shares. But the indignant remonstrances of the original Company, and the persevering opposition of the Dutch, perplexed and thwarted the agents of the Association; and, in 1647, the English trade with India was reduced to the lowest extremity [18].

Failure of the second East India Company, 1637.

But the impulse given to English commerce under the Commonwealth, was felt in the direction of India, as in other quarters. Upon the relinquishment of St. Helena, in 1651, by the Dutch, who then formed their first settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, their English

St. Helena acquired, 1651.

[17] Bruce's Annals, &c. i. 269. 295. 320. 377. In Anderson's History of Commerce, ii. 303, a much earlier date (1620) is erroneously assigned to the settlement of Fort St. George.

[18] Anderson, ut sup. 396. 432.

rivals, for a time, took possession of it. The disputes between the Dutch and English, which had so long been the bane of both, in India, were also settled by a treaty already referred to; by which it was agreed that the Dutch should pay, in reparation of damages inflicted by them upon the English Company,—independently of those awarded to different representatives of the sufferers at Amboyna,—the sum of £85,000 sterling, and restore the Island of Poleroon to the English. Had the Company been now left free to act upon the authority of their original Charter, they might probably have been able to profit greatly by this reconciliation with the Dutch; but the constant infraction of their rights, by the intrusion of merchant adventurers from home, made this hopeless. The evil was in some degree remedied in 1657, when Cromwell re-established the East India Company upon the basis of a coalition between them and the principal merchant adventurers[19]. But the spirit of religious discord, so rampant in that day, found its way into the councils of those who were thus associated, and marred all their efforts. Evelyn gives a remarkable evidence of this fact in his Diary:

Conflicting claims of the English and Dutch in India reconciled, 1654.

'1657, Nov. 26, I went to London to a court of ye East India Company on its new union, in Merchant-taylors' Hall. where was much disorder by reason of the Anabaptists, who would have the adventurers oblig'd onely by an engagement, without swearing, that they might still pursue their private trade; but it was carried against them.'

No further change took place in the constitution of the East India Company, until the grant of another Charter soon after the Restoration.

[19] Ib. 445. 456; Bruce's Annals, i. 516, &c.

Causes why no systematic effort was then made to evangelize India

The course of events here traced will explain why nothing was now effected by the English towards the evangelization of India. It shows that India was a field, upon which our countrymen, although labouring in it for more than fifty years, had not been able to effect any other settlement than that of small trading factories. Their knowledge of the religion and customs of the various tribes with whom they came in contact, consisted only of such disjointed fragments of information as they could collect in the interchange of commercial goods. The means of communicating to them the treasures of sanctifying and saving truth, which were the glory of their own land, had not been more abundant. They had never been able to organize, or put into operation, those means of propagating the knowledge of their religious faith, which the Portuguese, from the day on which Albuquerque first made himself master of Goa, had exerted with such great zeal and success. Whatsoever, therefore, might have been the Christian sympathy and ardour of any of our countrymen who went out under the early Charters of the East India Company; whatsoever hopes or expectations they might have formed of being able, by the power of the Cross of Christ, to bring under its subjection the disciples of Brama or of Mahomet, they soon returned home baffled and disappointed; for they were not permitted to pass over even the threshold of the habitations of Indian idolatry.

That there were Englishmen, among those who first visited the coasts of Hindustan, and Japan, and the Persian Gulf, and the Islands of the Indian Archipelago, who, if such an opening had been presented to

them, would have pressed in with intrepid and hopeful faith; and that the name of one of them, Copeland, Chaplain of the Royal James, was speedily associated with some of the most cheering evidences of Christian love in Virginia and the Bermudas in the same day, has been already proved. That more traces are not to be found, in the period now under review, of men who shared the spirit and emulated the example of Copeland, is a fact which may be amply accounted for by the character of those proceedings in connexion with India, which have been just described.

Evils thereof.

This inability of the English to plant themselves permanently in any part of India, and the consequent absence of any attempt to show themselves to the natives, as Christian men, was the source of much evil; for it tempted them gradually to lose all sense of the obligation resting upon them to make that demonstration. Viewing from a distance the complicated ceremonies of Hindu superstition, and unable, from the causes which have been explained, to direct against them any of the antagonistic influences of Christianity, they became at last impressed with the idea that it was a duty, as well as a wise policy, to pass over all such matters without notice; and, for the same reason, were content to keep in abeyance the distinctive characters of their own faith, even when the opportunity for vindicating it was fairly presented to them. A remarkable instance of this occurred at Madras, a few years after the English had first settled there. The Portuguese had already been for some time at St. Thomé, in its immediate neighbourhood; and a dispute had arisen between them and the natives, in consequence of one of their Padres

Instance illustrating them.

having refused to allow a religious Hindu procession to pass his Church. The English refrained from interfering in the dispute, upon the ground that it was impracticable to overcome the religious prejudices of the natives. 'By this,' say the Agent and Council of Fort St. George, in their letter, January 18, 1650, to the Court,

'By this you may judge of the lyon by his paw, and plainely discerne, what small hopes, and how much danger, wee have of converting these people, y^t^ are not lyke y^e^ naked and brut Americans, but a most subtle and pollitique nation, who are so zealous in their religion, or rather superstitions, y^t^ even amongst their owne differing casts, is grounded an irreconcilable hatred, w^ch^ often produceth very bloodie effects [20].'

The Portuguese Padre might have acted uncharitably and unlawfully, in obstructing a Hindu procession; and the English might reasonably have refused to mix themselves up with such a dispute. But to assume the utter impracticability of removing the religious prejudices of the natives of Hindustan, to regard the attempt as a service of danger, and, on that account, to keep back all public demonstration of that faith which was the most precious inheritance of England, was, in respect of the natives, to take for granted as proved, the very point which remained yet to be proved; and, in respect of the English, was a guilty compromise and betrayal of the truth. In the conduct, therefore, of the English Agent and Council at Madras, with respect to this transaction, we may trace the germ of that apathy and irreligion which were, for so many years, the reproach of the English rule in India, and have made the reparation

[20] Bruce's Annals, i. 455.

of the evil in our own day so much more difficult. The Church at St. Thomé,—whatsoever may have been the indiscreet zeal of him who ministered before her altar,—was a witness at least that they who worshipped there were not ashamed to hold up the symbols of their faith before the eyes of the natives of India. How long the English Churchmen of Fort St. George, who boasted that they were free from the superstitions of Portuguese Papists, could bear to see the extension of their commerce, and the increase of their secular power[21], and yet refrain from exhibiting any public evidence that they too were the servants of the same Lord, will be seen hereafter.

Evidences of the interest felt in England in favour of India.

But this indifference, we should remember, was at variance with the feelings of many who watched at home, with eager interest, the progress of our early relations with India. One remarkable evidence of such interest has already appeared in the Pamphlet of Dr. Wood, published towards the end of the reign of James I.[22] And that the evidences of Christian sympathy and zeal to which Wood refers in that work, as displayed by those who were at that time entrusted with the management of our commerce with India, were renewed, by their successors, in spite of their many difficulties and discouragements, is probable from the nature of the case. We can hardly suppose that the flame of piety, which burnt so brightly, at the first, in the hearts of some of those associated in this enterprise, should have been wholly extinguished

[21] In 1653-4, Fort St. George was raised to the rank of a Presidency. Ib. 484.

[22] Vol. i. pp. 377—380.

Terry's Thanksgiving Sermon before the East India Company.

in a moment. One token, at least, of its existence has survived the shocks of that troublous age, I mean the word of thanksgiving and of warning, spoken by Edward Terry, in the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft, before the Governor and Company of Merchants trading to India, on the return of a fleet of seven of their ships, in 1649. Terry had gone out as Chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, in 1615, on his embassy to the Mogul. He then passed nearly four years in the country; had written upon his return an account of his travels, &c., and submitted the same in writing to Charles I., when he was Prince of Wales, in 1622[23]. He was now Rector of Great Greenford; and the Author of the Athenæ Oxonienses (iii. 516), describes him as one of those who 'submitted to the men that bore sway in the time of the rebellion.' Nevertheless he adds,—what must be considered as no small tribute of praise, coming from such a quarter,—that Terry was an 'ingenious and polite man, of a pious and exemplary conversation, a good preacher, and much respected by the neighbourhood where he lived.' That he still retained that interest in India, which he had acquired by his voyage thither, may be inferred from his having complied with the request that he should preach the Sermon in question. He chooses for his text that appropriate passage in Psalm cvii. 30, 31, "Then are they glad, because they are at rest; and so he bringeth them unto the haven where they would be," &c.; and, having made a brief exposition of the words, applies them to the Church

[23] The work is entitled, 'Voyage to India,' &c., and was again published, in a revised form, in 1655.

in every age, and particularly to those his hearers, who had just experienced the mercy of God in their safe return to England. And, having briefly adverted to the fact that he too had experienced the like mercy just thirty years before, when he had returned 'in the good ship Anne,' with Sir Thomas Roe; and having confessed that he should be 'unworthy to live a minute longer, if' he outlived 'the memory of that, or of any other great mercy' he had 'received,' he passes on to the consideration of the duties which resulted from such acknowledgments, and thus enforces the special obligations incumbent upon those to whom he spake:

'Now that which I advise you to, in the first place, that God may blesse you in your Factories abroad, and in your returnes home, (which for my part I shall ever wish and pray for,) is as much as in you lies, carefully to take heede that you imploy such Presidents, Ministers of the Word, Factors. and other servants, residing in all your remote places of Trade, as may take speciall care to keep God in your families there: for let me tell you that it is a miserable thing for such as professe themselves Christians, in places where Christ is not knowne, or, if heard of, not regarded, *Gentes agere sub nomine Christianorum*, to play the heathens, nay, to do worse under the name of Christians; *per quorum latera patitur Evangelium*, to shame Christianity by professing it; by whose miscarriages, the Gospel, Christianity itself, suffers. I never thinke (he proceeds) of that story which you may finde in the 20th chapter of Genesis, where Abimelec reproves Sarah, but methinkes it is very sad to consider that an Abimelec, an heathen, should have cause, aye, and a just one too, to reprove a Sarah, Sarah the wife of Abraham, Abraham the Father of the Faithfull: So for a Mahumetan, or an Heathen in India, observing the very loose lives of many of the English there, the very foule misdemeanours of those that professe themselves Christians; to say of Christianity (as I have sometimes heard), Christian religion, Divel religion, Christian much drunke, much rogue, much naught, very much naught. I speak this in their language, that is, their broken English speech, who live in those places who most converse with the English: And

truly 'tis sad to behold there a drunken Christian, and a sober Indian; an Indian to be eminent for devotion in his seducing way, and a Christian to be remisse in that duty; for an Indian to be excellent in many moralities, and a Christian not so; for one professing to be a Christian, without which profession there is no salvation; to come short of those which come short of Heaven; what can be more sad than this?'

Reynolds's Sermon before the same.

A later evidence of the like spirit, seeking to infuse its own love of holiness into the hearts of those who were then occupied in Eastern commerce, is found in another Sermon, preached, by the celebrated Edward Reynolds, before the East India Company, on December 4, 1657, the year in which it was re-established under Cromwell. The acknowledgment is distinctly made in its dedication, that 'what businesses' its governors 'sought to prosecute by the concurrent counsels and services of men,' they had been accustomed 'to commend first to the favour and blessing of God.' The Sermon is entitled 'The Comfort and Crown of Great Actions;' and its design is to show, by a review of the character of Nehemiah, the means through which alone they are to be secured[24]. It contains little which can interest the reader who looks for any exact description of the duties of those to whom it was addressed; and so far its perusal may disappoint him. Yet, it is deserving of notice, not only as a luminous and eloquent exposition of the subject which it professes to discuss, but also on account of the high reputation of its author. Chosen, at the age of twenty-eight, to be the successor of Preston, in the Preachership of Lincoln's Inn[25], Reynolds was dis-

[24] Reynolds's Works, v. 49.

[25] In the first edition of this work, I had said, upon the autho-

tinguished afterwards among those ministers of our Church, who, in the troubles of Charles's reign, inclining, from the outset, to the school of Calvin in matters of doctrine, assented at length to its teaching in matters of discipline also; and were found arrayed on the side of the Presbyterians, when that party arose to power. Reynolds took a prominent part with them, in the proceedings of the Assembly of Divines, of which he was a member; and, by their influence, was appointed, in 1648-9, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, upon the ejection of Dr. Fell. In 1651, having refused to take the Engagement, he was, in his turn, ejected by the Independents, when they gained the ascendancy, and was succeeded by the yet more celebrated John Owen, formerly a Presbyterian, but now the leading champion of the Independents[26].

rity of Chalmers's Life of Reynolds (prefixed to the octavo edition of his works), that Reynolds, at the age of twenty-three, had succeeded Donne in the Preachership of Lincoln's Inn. I have since found this statement to be erroneous; and have given, in the present text, the more correct information furnished by Mr. Purton Cooper, Q.C., in the interesting and copious Appendix C, p. 240, to his edition of Melmoth on the Great Importance of a Religious Life, &c. Reynolds's three valuable Treatises upon the Vanity of the Creature, The Sinfulness of Sin, and The Life of Christ, appear, by the terms of his Latin Dedication of them, to have been delivered by him before the Society of Lincoln's Inn in the shape of Sermons. In 1631, he was presented to a Parish in Northamptonshire, and resigned the Preachership, in which office he was succeeded by Caryl, the author of the Commentary on the Book of Job. Chalmers's Life of Reynolds, ut sup.

[26] Orme's Life of Owen, 55—57. It is curious to observe the perplexity felt by Orme, when he relates Owen's appointment to the Deanery, and the efforts which he makes to escape from the charge of gross inconsistency in which it evidently involved Owen. Ib. 103.

Passing the next few years of his life in the city of London, of one of the Parishes of which (St. Lawrence Jewry) Reynolds was Incumbent,—a circumstance, which opened the way more readily to his preaching the Sermon which has led to this brief notice of him,—he was, with the return of the Presbyterians to power, in 1659, reinstated in the Deanery of Christ Church. Upon the Restoration, he was appointed one of the King's Chaplains, and, soon afterwards, became, by his acceptance of the See of Norwich, a Bishop of that Church, whose authority he had disowned, and whose ordinances he had proscribed, at an earlier period of his life [27].

Upon the merits of these censures which doubtless will be cast by many now, as they have been aforetime, upon Reynolds, for the opposite courses which he pursued at different periods of his life, it is needless to dwell in this place. All persons, however, may rejoice that his writings still remain as a storehouse, from which may be drawn some of the richest treasures of piety, learning, and eloquence, which are to be found in the whole compass of English literature; and, for my own part, it has been a satisfaction to find, in the course of my present enquiries, that one, who has expounded so well the great doctrines of the Gospel of Christ, should have spoken a word of counsel to those, his countrymen, who, in the face of many difficulties and perils, were striving to establish upon secure grounds our relations with the East. This feeling of satisfaction is increased, when I find, upon further examination, that this act of Reynolds

[27] Reynolds was appointed Bishop, Nov. 28, 1660; and died, July 28, 1676.

was only one of many of a similar nature in which some of those, whom the Church of England holds in most grateful memory, were then engaged; and that this co-operation of Reynolds was acknowledged by them in terms of hearty and affectionate good-will. Thus, Evelyn, who states in his Diary, Nov. 27, 1657, that he had taken the oath at the East India House, and subscribed £500, informs us also, in his entry of the preceding day, that

Evelyn's notice of it.

'Wednesday was fix'd on for a General Court for election of officers, after a sermon and prayers for good successe;'

and then adds the following notice of the Sermon to which I have just referred:

'2 Dec. Dr. Raynolds (since Bishop of Norwich) preach'd before y^e^ company at St. Andrew Undershaft, on 13 Nehemiah v. 31, shewing by the example of Nehemiah all the perfections of a trusty person in publique affaires, with many good precepts apposite to y^e^ occasion, ending with a prayer for God's blessing on the company and y^e^ undertaking[28].'

The evidences of Christian sympathy and zeal upon the part of England, as she was extending the circle of her com-

THE LEVANT COMPANY.

[28] It may be remarked as a singular instance of the difficulties of that time, that, on the next Christmas Day, only three weeks after the delivery of Reynolds's Sermon, Evelyn and his wife, and others whom he names, whilst receiving the Holy Communion in Exeter Chapel, were surrounded by soldiers who had entered, and held their muskets against them, as if they would have shot them. The communicants were afterwards subjected to interrogatories from officers who came for that purpose from Whitehall; and some were imprisoned. Evelyn describes these officers as 'men of high flight and above ordinances, and who spake spiteful things of our Lord's nativity;' and records his thankfulness that he was permitted to reach home late the next day.

merce, were no where exhibited more conspicuously than in the outskirts of the boundaries of Europe, by the agents and chaplains of the Levant, or Turkey, Company. We have seen that, through its agency, the commencement of an overland trade with India had been attempted, towards the end of the 16th century, by merchants who had gone from Aleppo to Bagdad, and thence to Ormus, in the Persian Gulf; after which, they proceeded to Goa, and thence extended their visits as far as Agra, Patna, Pegu, Malacca, Ceylon, and the coast of Malabar[29]. The information thus acquired gave a fresh impulse to the exertions and enterprises of the Levant Company. And Aleppo, the centre of their trade, was now associated, in the minds of Englishmen, with other scenes than those which the merchant only had witnessed, whilst he was piling up in its warehouses, his silks, and ivory, and gems, and gold, and silver; or those which had been present to the poet's mind, when he described

> 'The weird sisters, hand in hand,
> Posters of the sea and land,'

hastening to overwhelm the poor sailor, bound for that Syrian port, whose wife had angered them[30]. The Christian minister was seen mingling amid its busy population, learning the languages and customs of its various tribes, that thence he might derive fresh light to illustrate the Scriptures of Eternal Truth; and also, in his turn, delivering unto them, in words, and yet more powerfully, in his blameless life and conversation, the testimony which those Scriptures

[29] Vol. i. pp. 91, 92.

[30] Shakspeare's Macbeth, Act i. scene 3.

revealed. His brethren at home, too, were seen strengthening his hands, by prayer, and kindly counsel, and by maintaining affectionate intercourse with the merchants and mariners who embarked from England for the harbours of the Levant.

Pocock, the Orientalist, their Chaplain, 1629.

From the earliest period, indeed, of establishing their factories on the shores of the Mediterranean, the Company had taken pains to secure to every one in their employment the benefit of the ordinances of the Church; and some of their chief merchants had been zealous in obtaining for our theologians at home those aids towards the elucidation of the Scriptures, which their residence in the East supplied. Davis, for instance, Superintendent at Aleppo, was a constant correspondent of Archbishop Usher, upon subjects of sacred literature, and furnished him with very valuable information[31]. Long before the enlargement of their privileges by Parliament in 1643, the Levant Company had been careful to send out, as their Chaplains, some of our ablest and most devoted Clergy. The first of these, of whom I have been able to gain any intelligence, was Charles Robson, of Queen's College, Oxford[32]. His successor was the distinguished Edward Pocock, who, at the time of his appointment in 1629, was twenty-five years old; having been elected, in his seventeenth year, from Magdalen Hall, Oxford, to a scholarship at Corpus; and had entered, even at that early age, upon that diligent and successful study of the Oriental lan-

[31] Parr's Collection of Archbishop Usher's Correspondence.

[32] A small tract written by him in 1628 is still extant, entitled 'News from Aleppo.'

guages, for which he afterwards became so celebrated. His first work had been that of preparing for the press the unpublished portions of the Syriac Version of the New Testament; and his desire to cultivate still further the knowledge of that and other languages of the East, and to make all his enquiries subsidiary to the elucidation of Holy Scripture, had been a chief motive leading him, soon after he was ordained, to seek his present office. The position of Laud, at that time, as Bishop of London, made it necessary that the nomination of any one to such an office should emanate from him; and he nominated Pocock. But it appears, from a letter written to Pocock by that prelate, two years afterwards, that Laud had no other knowledge of him than that of his public reputation at Oxford. Upon Pocock's arrival at Aleppo, his first work was to apply himself to the duties of his mission; and this he did with strictest fidelity and holiest zeal; being, as his biographer tells us,

'diligent in preaching, exhorting his countrymen in a plain, but very convincing way, to piety, temperance, justice, and love, and all those Christian virtues or graces which would both secure to them the favour and protection of the Almighty, and also adorn their conversation, rendering it comely in the sight of an unbelieving nation. And what he laboured to persuade others to, he duly practised himself; proposing to his hearers, in his own regular and unspotted life, a bright example of the holiness he recommended.'

Again, upon the breaking out of the plague, in 1634, when it raged so furiously in Aleppo, that many of the merchants fled for safety to the mountains, he relates that Pocock

'had that holy confidence in the providence of God, and that readiness to meet His good pleasure, whatever it should be, that though he visited them that were in the country, he, for the most

part, continued to assist and comfort those who had shut up themselves in the city [33].'

Meanwhile his studies in the Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopic, and especially the Arabic languages, were prosecuted with extraordinary success; and he was careful also, as opportunity offered, to collect ancient Greek coins and Oriental manuscripts to enrich the treasures of the Bodleian Library. To this latter object, his attention had been directed by Laud, at that time Chancellor of the University; and, soon afterwards, that prelate signified to Pocock his intention of establishing, at Oxford, a Professorship for the study of Arabic, and of naming him as the fittest person to commence its duties.

Appointed Laudian Professor of Arabic, 1636.

The offer was thankfully accepted; and, in 1636, Pocock returned to England, not only amid the sincere regrets of his own countrymen at Aleppo, whose best affections he had gained, but also of many of the Mahometans, and especially those who had assisted him in his Oriental studies [34]. Upon his arrival in Oxford, he entered upon his new office, with all the energy and singleness of mind which marked his character; and, in the following year, at the request of Laud, left England once more for Constantinople, for the purpose of comparing and collecting

Visits Constantinople.

[33] Twells's Life of Pocock, 2—16.

[34] 'Your old scheich, who died several years since, writes Mr. Huntington (his successor in the Chaplaincy at Aleppo) to Pocock, in 1670, 'was always mindful of you, and expressed your name with his last breath. He was still telling the opinion he had of you, that you were a right honest man; and that he did not doubt but to meet you in paradise, under the banner of our Jesus.' Ib. 30.

Greek and Oriental manuscripts. He thereby obtained many valuable additions to the treasures of Biblical literature; among others, the Persian Gospels, which were afterwards so useful in the edition of the English Polyglot Bible. In several quarters, indeed, his enquiries proved fruitless; and the barbarous murder of Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, from whom he had received much kindness, hindered him from gaining access to one of the works of Clemens Alexandrinus, which Laud had requested him to obtain for Usher. But, as long as he remained in the East, his labours were unremitting; his expenses too, from first to last, were borne chiefly by himself; and upon his return, in 1640, through Europe, he still strove to make his visits in every place instrumental in effecting the great and permanent works of usefulness which he had always in view. His conference at Paris with Gabriel Sionita, the celebrated Maronite, and with Grotius, then ambassador at the Court of France, may be cited as instances of this.

Returns to England, 1640-1.

As soon as he reached England, Pocock sought out Laud, who had then been for some weeks committed a prisoner to the Tower. The account given of their interview is deeply affecting; and in no part more so, than in that which relates the steady refusal of the Archbishop to avail himself of the proposal which Pocock then urged upon him, at the request of Grotius, that he should effect an escape out of that place of his imprisonment[35].

[35] 'I am obliged,' said Laud, 'to my good friend, Hugo Grotius, 'for the care he has thus expressed for my safety; but I can by no means be persuaded to comply with the counsel he hath given me. An escape, indeed, is feasible enough; yea, 'tis, I believe, the very thing which my enemies desire; for every day an opportunity for it

The remembrance of his own successful escape from imprisonment had, doubtless, made Grotius more anxious that Laud should try the experiment; but, in the words quoted below, he expressed his steady determination to reject all such proposals; and Pocock left him, with a heavy heart, for Oxford, that he might resume his duties as Arabic Professor.

His duties.

The time was not favourable for their performance, for the horrors of Civil War were fast gathering in and around that city, and its Colleges and streets were disturbed by the din of arms. Even in that fearful crisis, a common interest in the same literary pursuits led to an acquaintance between Pocock and the learned Selden; a circumstance which, from Selden's influence with the Parliament, proved afterwards of essential service to Pocock; and, in 1643, he was presented to the Rectory of Childrey, Berkshire, by the College of which he was a Fellow. The proximity of his Parish to Oxford, made its tenure compatible with his avocations as Professor; and its duties were discharged with a faithfulness and

is presented to me, a passage being left free, in all likelihood, for this purpose, that I should endeavour to take the advantage of it. But they shall not be gratified by me, in what they appear to long for; I am almost seventy years old, and shall I now go about to prolong a miserable life, by the trouble and shame of flying? And were I willing to be gone, whither should I fly? Should I go into France or any other Popish country, it would be to give some seeming ground to that charge of Popery, they have endeavoured, with so much industry, and so little reason, to fasten upon me. But if I should get into Holland, I should expose myself to the insults of those sectaries there, to whom my character is odious, and have every Anabaptist come and pull me by the beard. No, I am resolved not to think of flight; but, continuing where I am, patiently to expect and bear what a good and wise Providence hath provided for me, of what kind soever it shall be.' Ib. 84, 85.

affectionate simplicity, which showed Pocock not less successful as a Parish Priest, than he had been hitherto known to be as a scholar[36].

His trials.

But to discharge the office of Parish Priest, in that day, in any other mode than that prescribed by Presbyterian tyrants, was to bring down upon Pocock's head the vials of their wrath; and that machinery of iniquitous oppression, which the Sequestrators and Visitors, under the Long Parliament, knew so well how to manage, was soon brought to bear against him, with respect both to his Parish and Professorship. In the case of the latter, indeed, the earnest representations of Selden succeeded in effecting the restitution of his salary, after he had been deprived of it for three years. And, having contrived, by absenting himself from Oxford, to avoid taking the Solemn League and Covenant, which the Visitors sought to impose, Pocock was appointed by the committee associated with them,—again, through Selden's influence,—to succeed to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew in the University, when it became vacant by the death of Morris, in 1648. In making this appointment, the officers of Parliament only did that which the King himself would have done, if, from his imprisonment at the Isle of Wight, he could have accomplished all his wishes: for he had

[36] The marriage of Pocock with Mary, the daughter of Thomas Burdett, took place in 1646. Ib. 98. The absence of all parade of learning in his Sermons was such, that some of his Parishioners looked down upon him as utterly devoid of it; and one of his Oxford friends, passing through Childrey, and asking who was their minister, and how they liked him? received this answer, 'Our parson is one Mr. Pocock, a plain, honest man; but, master, he is no Latiner.' Ib. 94.

already nominated Pocock to succeed to the office, upon the recommendation of Sheldon and Hammond. The particular Canonry of Christ Church, annexed to the Hebrew Professorship, was taken away from it, and Pocock was presented to another; an act, against which he felt it his duty publicly to protest; although he knew well the hostility from the Parliamentary Visitors to which he thereby exposed himself. Selden indeed advised him, 'to keep out of the reach of their quarter-staff, which would,' he said, 'strike down all before it; and, against which there was no ward, but suffering or complying.' But Pocock was content to brave all dangers. And, in 1650, not having taken and subscribed the Engagement, which required obedience to the government then established upon the ruins of the throne and altar, he was turned out of his Canonry of Christ Church; and Peter French, who had married a sister of Oliver Cromwell, was appointed in his room. A vote was passed also, to eject him from his Professorship of Arabic; but this was not carried into effect, simply because no one fit for the appointment could be found; and the urgent petition therefore of the University, that Pocock should be allowed to retain it, was granted. But, even then, he was not suffered to pursue his course undisturbed; for, under the provisions of an Act, passed in 1654, for ejecting ignorant, scandalous, insufficient, and negligent ministers, the attempt was speedily made to expel him from his Parish. The charges of scandal brought against him, in the first instance, although prosecuted for many months with most malignant zeal, could not be sustained; upon which, the Commissioners endeavoured to bring against him others, accusing him of ignorance and insufficiency; and, from the disgrace

which such a proceeding would have entailed upon them, it must be recorded, to the honour of Owen, then Dean of Christ Church, that he, by his manly and indignant remonstrances, preserved the Commissioners[37]. He declared that he could not be a party to 'turning out a man for insufficiency, whom all the learned, not of England, but of all Europe, so justly admired for his vast knowledge and extraordinary accomplishments.' And so Pocock was permitted to retain his Parish; requiting with good the adversaries who had sought to do him evil; and, in order to guard them from the resentment of others, not allowing even the papers of their depositions against him to be seen by any of his family or friends, as long as he lived[38].

[37] Ib. 106–176. I thankfully acknowledge it also, not less to the honour of Howe, that he endeavoured to mitigate the insolence and injustice of the Independent Triers. Calamy relates the following instance of it in the case of Fuller, the historian, who could not forbear the indulgence of his accustomed wit, even in his danger. 'That gentleman,' says Calamy, 'who was generally upon the merry pin, being to take his turn before these Triers, of whom he had a very formidable notion, thus accosted Mr. Howe, when he applied to him for advice. Sir, said he, you may observe I am a pretty corpulent man, and I am to go through a passage that is very strait, I beg you would be so kind as to give me a shove, and help me through. He freely gave him his advice, and he promised to follow it, and when he appeared before them, and they proposed to him the usual question, Whether he had ever had any experience of a work of grace upon his heart? he gave this in for answer, That he could appeal to the Searcher of hearts, that he made conscience of his very thoughts; with which answer they were satisfied, as indeed they well might.' Howe's Life, prefixed to his Works, p. v.

[38] Pocock's Life, &c. 347. He died in 1691, in his 87th year, and conducted his family devotions, as he had always been accustomed to do, according to the prayers of our Church, even the night before his death. Ib. 342.

The benefit of his and kindred labours.

The labours, which Pocock, and others united with him in the same or in kindred pursuits, carried on in his later days, will be mentioned hereafter; but I may be permitted here to anticipate the notice of some of them, because they are connected with those in which he was engaged during the present period, and will also explain the reason why I have directed the reader's attention at such length to the story of his life. Foremost among these labours was his share in the preparation of that noble work, the Polyglot Bible, edited by Brian Walton. That unwearied student, having projected his enterprise at a time when he was dispossessed of all his preferments, soon invited another to be his companion in the same work, who was his companion also in suffering, and whose name is ever dear to all true Churchmen, Herbert Thorndike. They sought for the counsel of those Bishops who were still living, deprived, indeed, of their property and external power, but possessing still that paternal influence over the affections and judgment of others, of which no oppressor could ever rob them. With their hearty concurrence, proposals for subscriptions to meet the expenses of the publication were forthwith issued, and favourably received. The Council of State, to their honour, encouraged the undertaking; and, at the recommendation of Cromwell, gave orders that all the paper required for the use of the first edition should be imported duty free[39]. In 1653, the printing of

[39] Walton once entertained the hope that the Council of State would have voted £1000 in aid of the work; but there is good reason for believing that this was never done. Ib. 209. The reader needs scarcely to be reminded of the reproaches cast upon Walton, for having written one Dedication to Cromwell, and another to

this vast work was begun, and, towards the close of 1657, completed. Soon after its publication, Owen, on the part of the Independents, attempted to lift up the voice of censure against it; and the Papal interdict classed it in the number of books forbidden to be read[40]. The first of these assaults was speedily and triumphantly repulsed by Walton, as Owen's biographer himself admits[41]; and the record of the second remains to this day, to show that its wickedness has only been equalled by its impotency. That such attacks should have been made, at the same time, from such opposite quarters, is a curious instance of the manner in which extremes meet.

The Polyglot Bible.

The execution of some of the most important labours connected with the Arabic Version of the Polyglot Bible were entrusted to Pocock; and, from his private collection, treasures were obtained, which no other library could furnish, namely, the manuscript already mentioned of the Gospels in Persian, a Syriac manuscript of the Old Testa-

Charles after the Restoration; and of the distinction between the Republican and Loyal copies, as they are called. But those who repeat such charges, have forgotten the sufferings of Walton for his stedfast adherence to the Church in the time of Charles I., his forced subjection to the usurped authority of Cromwell, and the eagerness with which he welcomed the restoration of the house of Stuart. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. 53, 54. Walton was consecrated to the see of Chester in 1660, and died the next year.

[40] See Index Libb. Prohibit. Alexand. vii. Pontif. Max. &c. in loc.

[41] Orme's Life of Owen, 209. Walton's Vindication has been reprinted in the 2nd Volume of his Memoirs, by Todd. In that work, and in Twells' Life of Pocock, 193—220, the reader will find the best information concerning the Polyglot Bible, and its contributors.

ment, two other manuscripts of the Psalms in the same language, and an Æthiopic manuscript of the Psalter. He would have undertaken a still larger portion of the work, had not his time been pre-occupied with others of a like nature, urged upon him by Selden. He completed also, towards the end of the Protectorate, an Arabic Version of Grotius' Treatise concerning the truth of the Christian religion; making such alterations of it in the preface, and in the sections relating to Mahometanism, as seemed to him desirable; and to which he had already obtained the consent of Grotius, during his visit to him at Paris. The sole motive prompting him to this work, was his desire to enlighten those inhabitants of the Syrian border, among whom his duties in earlier life had placed him. His inability to defray its expences delayed the publication for some time. And this burden was at length cheerfully borne by one, whose spirit was never weary in devising, nor his hand in executing, "liberal things," the Honourable Robert Boyle[42].

At the Restoration, Pocock was reinstated in that preferment at Christ Church, of which he had been for many years deprived; and prosecuted with redoubled zeal his varied studies, directing them all to one end, the support and extension of Christian truth. I pass over his general contributions to the great work of Biblical interpretation, by his commentaries on four of the minor prophets, Hosea, Joel, Micah, and Malachi, and the fresh aids which he was constantly supplying towards the study of Arabic literature; because the notice of them belongs more properly to the general

[42] Boyle undertook, about the same time, the chief cost of reprinting the Irish New Testament; and also a Turkish translation of the New Testament, and Catechism, by William Seaman. Ib. 242.

history of our Church, than to that department of it with which I am now concerned. I will here mention only, first, the assistance which he cheerfully rendered to Edmund Castell [43], in the completion of his Lexicon to the Polyglot Bible; and, secondly, his efforts to communicate to the East the blessings of Christian truth, and the ordinances of our Church. The work in which he assisted Castell, brought poverty and distress upon its author, but remains, and will, to the end of time, remain, a monument of varied learning and unwearied industry. There were other companions, indeed, of Castell in that work, as he acknowledges in his preface; Murray, who helped him in the Arabic department, Beveridge (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph) in the Syriac, Wansleb in the Æthiopic, and, more than all, the celebrated Lightfoot. But, in the end, Castell was left alone; his patrimony, once sufficient for his wants, exhausted; the energies of his body and mind broken down; and blindness stealing upon him; without even an amanuensis, or corrector of the press, to help him [44]. That Pocock should have done what he could to cheer poor Castell, amidst his heavy toil, is only another evidence of the generous and affectionate spirit which, throughout his long and laborious life, never ceased to distinguish him.

Pocock's unwearied and useful labours.

But Syria was still the region to which the thoughts of Pocock were turned, most frequently and anxiously, even to the end. About ten years after the Restoration, he sent out to

[43] See p. 13, *ante*.

[44] There are few compositions of the kind on record more affecting, than parts of Castell's Latin Preface. The only passage which can be compared with them, is the well-known conclusion of Johnson's Preface to his Dictionary.

Huntington, his friend and, at that time, his successor in the Chaplaincy at Aleppo, copies of our Church Catechism, which he had translated into Arabic, and published for the use of young Christians in the East. Soon afterwards, at Huntington's request, Pocock published, and sent out to him, an Arabic translation which he had made of the daily Morning and Evening Prayers in our Prayer Book, the Order of Administering Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; and also the doctrine of the Church of England, as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles, and the arguments of our Homilies[45]. Thus, in every way which could either conduce to the spread of Christianity in Eastern climes, by making known to their inhabitants in their own tongues, the Gospel of Christ; or secure the correct reading of the texts both of the Old and New Testament, and assist the right interpretation thereof, by bringing home to this country the literary treasures of the East, Pocock was ever forward, ever successful. All the increased facilities of intercourse, which arose between England and other countries in that region, were applied by this faithful and learned man mainly to this one great end. For the attainment of it, he watched and prayed with a stedfastness which knew no intermission. We have seen that he

[45] Ib. 288—298. Huntington offered to defray part of the expense of this publication; but the University of Oxford bore all charges. In a letter of Huntington to Pocock, he says, in language which shows his earnest feeling upon the subject, 'I find the University envied me the honour of being a benefactor to so good a cause. – However, I'll recover what I can by the religious distribution of the books.' Huntington, upon his return from Aleppo, in 1683, was appointed Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards Bishop of Raphoe. Biog. Brit. in loc.

first reached forward to this mark, whilst the freshness of his early manhood was upon him, and the ancient dignities of the Universities, and Church, and Throne, appeared strong in his native land; that he turned not away from contemplating it, when, at a maturer age, he returned to that land, and saw her shorn of all those dignities; and that he still remembered it, still directed his earnest, affectionate gaze towards it, still laboured for it, although the abatement of "his natural force," and the prospect of ease under the sceptre of the restored King, might have tempted him to relax. Nor was his a solitary light. We have seen further, that it kindled the same pure flame in the hearts of others; and was fed, in its turn, by theirs. And so the proof was exhibited to the world, that, with the extension of England's commerce and dominion, some of the most faithful and devoted members of her Church strove, in the hour of her adversity, as well as of her wealth, to make known, in the differing languages of regions opened to them, the riches of their own inheritance.

Notice of Isaac Basire.

One of the most distinguished of these was Isaac Basire. He had been Chaplain to Charles I., and to Bishop Morton, of Lichfield, by whom he had been ordained; and from whom, when Morton was translated to Durham, he had received, first, the Rectory of Egglescliffe, and afterwards, in succession, a Prebendal Stall in the Cathedral, the Rectory of Stanhope, and the Archdeaconry of Northumberland[46]. Basire was deprived of all his preferments by the Civil War; and, having been an eye-witness of some of the worst horrors of such war,

[46] Life of Bishop Morton, by R. B., p. 85.

at the sieges of Oxford, and Carlisle, and in Stockton Castle, was speedily made to feel its privations in another form, when he and his wife and children were cast out beggars from their home. The miserable compensation of a fifth part of their property which, by a decree of Parliament, November 11, 1647, was ordered to be paid as a maintenance to the families of the sequestered Clergy, was still further reduced, and, in most instances, altogether withheld, through the shuffling evasions of those who had grasped the plunder. For 'covetousnesse,' to use the words of Fuller in describing them, 'will wriggle itself out at a small hole.' And hence the poor wives of the ejected Clergy were not only vexed 'with the tedious attendance to get orders on orders,' but, 'as one truly and sadly said, the fifths are even paid at sixes and sevens[47].' In the case of Basire, indeed, some assistance may possibly have been hoped for from the relations of his wife, who had been a Miss Corbett, of Shropshire; but her letters to him are still extant, to show the difficulties by which she and her children were beset. Basire himself found refuge, for a short time, in his native city of Rouen, whither he had fled in 1647, and supported himself by tuition[48]. Among his pupils was the son of Lady Lambton, with whom he then formed a friendship which lasted through

[47] Fuller's History of the Church, xi. 230. Walker in his Sufferings of the Clergy, Part i. p. 102, remarks upon this saying, that it was 'true only in the proverbial, and not in the literal sense,' bad as that would have been, and shows, that, in those very few instances where he finds them paid, 'it was for the most part after the rate of tens and twelves.'

[48] Basire's Correspondence, &c. Correspondence and Life of Basire, lately published by Mr. Darnell.

later years. Towards the end of 1648, he set out with his pupils upon a tour into Italy and other parts of Europe; and when they, in course of time, left him to return home, he still strove, as he best could, amid all the anxieties and sufferings of his solitary state, to "do the work of an evangelist." He has left a full account of his labours, in a letter to Sir Richard Brown, the father-in-law of Evelyn, and English Ambassador at Paris[49]. We learn from it that Basire was for some time actively employed in the Island of Zante, in communicating to the Greeks the substance of the Catholic doctrine of our Church, through the medium of a Greek translation of our Catechism; which service had drawn upon him the enmity of the Latins. Nothing daunted by such opposition, he thence proceeded to the Morea, where the Metropolitan of Achaia persuaded him to preach twice, at a meeting of some of his Bishops and Clergy. His next visits were to Apulia, Naples, and Sicily, where he officiated for some weeks on board ship in the port of Messina, during the absence of the Chaplain, Mr. Duncan. He then embarked for Syria; and, at Aleppo, had frequent interviews with the Patriarch of Antioch, and left with him an Arabic translation of our Catechism. Jerusalem was the next scene of his many and earnest conferences, both with the Greek and Latin Clergy, upon the points of difference be-

[49] Ib. 115—120. Evelyn gives several instances of Brown's zeal and affection for our Church, in her day of adversity; stating that the Bishops, and Doctors, and others, who found an asylum in his house and family at Paris, 'in their disputes with the Papists (then triumphing over it as utterly lost) us'd to argue for its visibility and existence from Sir R. Browne's Chappell, and assembly there.' Memoirs, iii. 75.

tween their Churches and our own; and here, as elsewhere, he vindicated, with zeal and openness, the distinctive privileges of our own Church, avowedly declaring himself one of her ordained priests, even in the lowest hour of her depression. Returning from Jerusalem to Aleppo, he went to Mesopotamia, with the view of preparing the way for the distribution of Turkish copies of our Catechism among her Bishops, who were mostly Armenian. In all these arduous and long journeys, Basire travelled alone; making his way by the help of the Arabic language, which he had learnt at Aleppo, and by his knowledge of medicine, which he had acquired by a residence at Padua. Upon arriving at Pera, near Constantinople, the French Protestants invited him to officiate among them, which he agreed to do, upon the condition that he was to conduct the Divine Service according to our Liturgy. He had no French copy with him; and, having made a translation at the cost of no little labour, continued for some time thus to officiate, with the consent of the French ambassador, and under the roof and protection of the English. He availed himself, during the same period, of every legitimate opportunity to promote that reformation of the grosser errors of the Greek Church, which might lead to her communion with others; and, for that purpose, formed a design, which, however, he was not able to accomplish, of visiting the Coptic Churches, and conferring with the Patriarch of Alexandria. He thus concludes his letter:

'I should now long for a comfortable *post-liminium* to my family: but yet I am resolved rather *intermori* in these toylesome ecclesiastical peregrinations, than to decline the least on either hand from my religion or allegiance; And, oh! that it were with

our Church, as whilome, when God Almighty did shine upon our wayes, and upheld both the Staves thereof, Beauty and Bands: but patience: *Hoc erat in votis;* and to recover both shall be the prayer and endeavour of yours,' &c.

It is needless to say more in this place of the faithful labours of Basire. I will add only, as in the case of Reynolds, the terms in which Evelyn spoke of him, after his return to England. The following entry occurs in his Diary, October 10, 1661:

'In the afternoone preach'd at the Abbey Dr. Basire, that great travailler, or rather French Apostle, who had been planting y^e^ Church of England in divers parts of y^e^ Levant and Asia. He show'd that y^e^ Church of England was for purity of doctrine, substance, decency, and beauty, the most perfect under Heaven; that England was the very land of Goshen.'

Evelyn met him again, Nov. 29, 1662, and writes:

'I went to Court this evening, and had much discourse with Dr. Basiers, one of his Ma^ty's^ chaplains, the greate traveller, who showed me the syngraphs and original subscriptions of divers eastern patriarchs and Asian churches to our confession.'

Concluding reflections.

It is our duty affectionately to remember the faithful efforts which, under circumstances so adverse, were made for the spiritual welfare of the East, by such men as Pocock and Basire; and, possessing as we do, enlarged facilities for the same work, to apply them, right manfully, to the prosecution of it. We know that like exertions, made in our own day, in countries further eastward, and by some who have neither walked "by the same rule," nor minded "the same thing" with ourselves, have received from our countrymen the praises which they have justly earned. And, if I am permitted in the sequel of this work to notice them more particularly, I trust that I shall, with no niggard or re-

luctant spirit, acknowledge the pious labours of Carey, of Marshman, and of Morrison. Meanwhile, let not the earlier deeds of our own fathers and brethren in the faith be forgotten by the men of this generation. Rather let them be received as sure signs to show, that, throughout all the changes of external vicissitude, the Church, of which we are baptized members, has never forfeited her authority as 'a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ.' "For Zion's sake," therefore, let us "not hold" our "peace, and for Jerusalem's sake" let us "not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth. And the Gentiles shall see" her "righteousness, and all kings" her "glory [50]."

[50] Phil. iii. 16. Art. XX. Is. lxii. 1, 2.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I. TO THE END OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

A.D. 1625—1660-1.

I NOW return to take a connected survey of the NEW ENGLAND Colonies, under which title are included all those planted in the parts of North America, lying between the 34th and 45th degrees of latitude, and assigned by James I., in 1606, to the North Virginia, or Plymouth, Company. The abortive efforts of different adventurers, under the authority of the Company, from that time to the year 1620; the new, but useless, Charter granted in that year, assigning the limits of the territory from the 40th to the 48th degrees of latitude; the settlement commenced, without their authority, in the same year, at Plymouth, in the Bay of Massachusetts, by Puritan emigrants from Leyden; the causes, which compelled the Company at home to acquiesce in a proceeding which was a direct infringement of their own rights; the gradual extension of the New Plymouth Colony; the intolerant spirit of those who followed them; and the unsuccessful attempt made, in 1623, by Robert Gorges, and

Morrell,—the latter of whom was a Clergyman of our Church,—to plant a settlement in another part of the same Bay, by virtue of a Patent granted to Gorges for that purpose, have all been described in a former part of this work [1].

The NEW ENGLAND Council grants Patents to Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire in 1627-9, and surrenders its Charter to the Crown in 1635.

The Council of New England terminated its existence, in 1635, by the voluntary surrender of its Charter to the Crown. But, before this, two other Patents had been granted under its authority for the settlement of other portions of the territory; the first, being that of Massachusetts Bay, to Rosewell and others, in 1627-8; and the second, that of New Hampshire, in the following year, to Captain Mason, who had formerly been Governor of a Plantation in Newfoundland [2].

A body of Planters, under the command of John Endicot, soon set out to establish the first of these Colonies; and Salem, the first permanent town of Massachusetts, was founded by them in September, 1628 [3].

[1] Vol. i. pp. 163. 349—366.

[2] Neal's New England, i. 122; Hazard, i. 289. 387. I may here take the opportunity of informing the reader that I make no further mention of Newfoundland in this Volume, because I have, by anticipation, given a summary of its history, in the seventh chapter of the first (pp. 321—342). The only document, connected with Newfoundland at this period, which I have since met with, is a Commission for its government granted by Charles I., in 1633; and among various directions which it contains for the regulation of the vessels, &c. concerned in the fishery, the following notice occurs: 'That vpon the Sundayes the Company assemble in meet places, and haue diuine Seruice to bee said by some of the Masters of the Shippes, or some others, which prayers shall bee such as are in the Booke of Common Prayer.'

[3] Chalmers, 136.

But some of the parties, who were persuaded to join the undertaking, not satisfied with the powers conferred upon them under their Patent, succeeded in obtaining, during the next year, another from the Crown confirming it. After reciting the boundaries of the new territory, and stating that it was to be held by the grantees, and by their heirs and assigns, in free and common socage of the manor of East Greenwich, for which was to be paid, in lieu of all services, a fifth of the gold and silver found in the country; it declares them to be a body corporate, by the name of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, and nominates Matthew Cradock to be the first Governor. It next sets forth the offices and number of the executive members; prescribes their order of business; and authorises them to administer the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to all persons who should pass into their Plantation, and to make all necessary ordinances for its government, but '*soe as such Lawes and Ordinances be not contrarie or repugnant to the Lawes and Statuts of this our Realme of England.*' It also grants permission to transport to New England all subjects of the King who should be willing to accompany them, or strangers who should be ready to live under his allegiance;—the only exception being those who might be 'by especiall name restrayned.' A remission of certain taxes for a limited period is further granted, as an encouragement to the emigrants; and finally, the principal end, for which, in the 'Royall intencon and the Adventurers free Profession,' the Plantation was to be made, is thus described; that,

'Our said People, Inhabitants there, may be soe religiously, peaceablie, and civilly governed, as their good Life and orderly Conver-

sacon maie wynn and incite the Natives of the Country, to the Knowledg and Obedience of the onlie true God and Sauior of mankinde, and the Christian Fayth [4].'

These Patents set at nought by the parties receiving them.

These provisions of the Massachusetts Bay Charter evince the cautious spirit in which it was framed. So far from granting any new privilege, it plainly and positively restricted even some of those which former emigrants had, without due authority, ventured to exercise. Neal and other historians of New England, indeed, have said, that 'free liberty of conscience was granted' in this Patent 'to all that should settle in those parts, to worship God in their own way [5].' But no such permission can be found in any part of it. On the contrary, it required that no law or ordinance should be passed repugnant to those which existed in the realm of England; and, further, that the oaths of supremacy and allegiance should be administered to every person who came into the Colony. Judge Story therefore has truly described this Charter, when he says that the King exhibited therein 'a fixed determination to adhere to the severe maxims of conformity so characteristic of his reign.' If it be asked, in what way were the provisions of a Charter, framed with such intent, observed by those who had been so eager to obtain it? the only answer which can be returned, is one of which the truth is indeed abundantly established by all New England historians, but which they are, for the most part, reluctant formally to avow, namely, that, from the outset, these provisions were deliberately and systematically set at

[4] Hazard, 239; Chalmers, 137.

[5] Neal's New England, i. 124.

nought. Judge Story is one of the few American writers who distinctly admit this fact. In the sentence immediately following that which I have quoted, and in which he describes the Charter as expressly framed for the purpose of keeping up a conformity between the Colony and England, he quietly remarks,

'The first emigrants however paid no attention to this circumstance; and the very first Church planted by them was independent in all its forms, and repudiated every connexion with Episcopacy or Liturgy[6].'

With what suddenness and completeness this repudiation was made, has been already shown, by anticipation, in the first Volume[7], where we saw that two members of the Colonial Council who were brothers, John and Samuel Browne, were expelled the Colony for no other reason than that they had gathered a company together in which the Book of Common Prayer was used in divine worship. 'They were banished from Salem,' as we there found admitted by Bancroft himself, 'because they were Churchmen.'

[6] Story's Commentaries upon the Constitution of the United States, i. 49. The same writer points out another instance of a gross breach of faith committed by the New England Emigrants. Thus, to use his own words, notwithstanding that 'the whole structure of the Charter presupposes the residence of the Company in England, and the transaction of all its business there,' yet, in August, 1629, 'the emigrants determined that the government and patent should be settled in New England.' Ib. 48—50. That the apparent acquiescence of the King in this proceeding was not intended as any admission of its right, is clear (as Story confesses) from his proceedings a few years afterwards. Grahame, a valuable historian, has attempted, but without success, to justify these acts of the Puritans. i. 206—220.

[7] Vol. i. p. 362.

Truly, this must be regarded as a tyrannical and dishonest act, let it have been done under any circumstances, or by any men. But done, as it was then, by men so loud and vehement in their professions of the love of freedom and of truth; whose sole authority to exercise any power at all in that region was derived from the Charter, which they had craved and obtained from their King; and who, as soon as they had set foot upon the territory assigned to them in that document, thus scattered its chief injunctions to the winds, it receives, and must for ever retain, a heavier burden of reproach [8].

New Hampshire annexed to Massachusetts in 1641.

The government of New Hampshire was required by its Charter to be 'agreeable as near as may be to the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England;' and Mason, to whom it was granted, was anxious to observe this condition carefully. The adversaries who prevented it, were the rulers of Massachusetts, who were themselves bound by a like condition in their own Charter. Thus Chalmers,—speaking of Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to whom, as well as to Mason, we shall presently see, was granted, with ample rights and powers, an extensive territory in the same region—says, that the Clergy of New England, 'who were at the same time her historians, disliked their persons, because they formed pretensions on that sanctified region, and hated their principles because they were attached to monarchy and the Church of England. With such hostile feelings

[8] Bancroft acknowledges that he has seen some unpublished letters in the possession of the editor of Winthrop, 'which prove that the Puritans in England were amazed, as well as alarmed, at the boldness of their brethren in Massachusetts,' i. 344, *note*.

it was easy to find a pretext for their indulgence. Accordingly, a party, who had been driven out from Boston, in 1637, by reason of the Antinomian disputes which prevailed in that place, settled themselves, under the guidance of Wheelwright, their minister, in lands which belonged to Mason, 'without his consent, and in opposition to his legal rights.' To these were soon added many more persons, who came from England, settling, without any better title, in the same neighbourhood. Civil anarchy, exasperated by religious discord, quickly brought all to ruin; and the small towns of Exeter and Dover, which these men had severally planted upon the shores of the River and Bay of Piscataqua, became the scenes of a civil war as fierce and bloody as that which convulsed unhappy England. Next followed a mingled process of bribery and menace, of persuasion and force, by which the Massachusetts government succeeded in gradually extending its jurisdiction over the distracted settlement of New Hampshire. At last, it resolved to put a new construction upon the terms of its own Patent, and assert that New Hampshire was included within it; and, since 'it is easy,' as Chalmers shrewdly observes, 'to find arguments to support a predetermined measure,' the matter was soon settled. Mason protested in vain against this invasion of his rights. Within six years of the settlement of New Hampshire, its character as an independent Colony was destroyed by its annexation to that of Massachusetts Bay[9].

These unjust proceedings forced the Council of New England to resign their Charter to the Crown;

[9] Chalmers, 471. 477.

and, in their formal Declaration of their reasons for that step, they especially complain of the conduct of certain parties who 'did rend in pieces the first foundation of the Building, and so framed vnto themselves both new laws and new conceipts of matter of Religion and forms of Ecclesiastical and Temporal Orders and government,—for no other cause, save only to make themselves absolute masters of the Country [10].'

Maine granted to Sir F. Gorges by Charles in 1639.

The first exercise of Proprietorship which Charles had thereby acquired over the territory of New England, was a grant of the Province of Maine to Sir Ferdinando Gorges in 1639, confirming the previous assignment to him of that territory by the New England Council. The privileges conferred by it upon Gorges were very extensive; for, besides all the profits accruing to him from the natural products of the country, the Charter provides that he should have

'All patronadges and advowsons, free disposicons and donacons of all and every such Churches and Chappeles as shall be made and erected within the said Province and premisses or any of them, with full power, licence and authority, to build and erect, or caused to be built and erected, soe many Churches and Chappelles there, as to the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his heirs and assignes shall seeme meete and convenient, and *to dedicate and consecrate the same, or cause the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiasticall lawes of this our realme of England*, together with all and singuler, and as large and ample rights, jurisdicons, priviledges, prerogatives, royallties, liberties, imunities, fraunchisses, and hereditaments, as well by sea as by land within the said Province and premisses and the precincts and coasts of the same, or any of them, or within the seas belonging to or adjacent to them, as the Bishop of Durham, within the Bishopricke or

[10] Hazard, 390.

Countie Palatine of Duressme, in our Kingdome of England, now hath, vseth, or inioyeth, or of righte ought to have, vse, and inioy within the said Countie Palatine, as if the same were herin particularly menconed and expressed:—saving alwayes the faith and alleageance, and the supreame dominion due to us, our heirs and successors; and for the better government of such our subjects and others, as shall at any time happen to dwell or reside within the said Province or premisses, or passe to or from the same, *our will and pleasure is, that the religion now professed in the Church of England, and ecclesiasticall government now vsed in the same, shall be ever hereafter professed, and with as much convenient speed as may bee settled and established in and throughout the said Province and premisses, and every of them.*'

Lastly, in addition to the usual proviso, that the laws should not be contrary to those of England, it was expressly enjoined that all powers exercised by the grantee, in matters '*both Ecclesiasticall and Civill*,' should be '*subject to the Lords and Commissioners for foraigne Plantations, for the time being*' at home [11].

Remarks thereon.

These privileges were greater than any which had ever been granted before to any English subject, except those secured by the Maryland Charter to Lord Baltimore. His communion with the Church of Rome, and his refusal, on that account, to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England, made it, as we have seen, impossible for him to observe *bonâ fide* some of its most important conditions. And hence, when Charles and his counsellors granted, and Baltimore received, such authority, they both involved themselves alike in a dilemma from which not any way of escape was open to them, except by the sacrifice of truth [12]. But, in the case of Gorges, there could be no such difficulty. Whether it were wise,

[11] Chalmers, 95; Hazard, i. 442. [12] Vol. i. pp. 474–482.

indeed, or just, to invest him with such lofty prerogatives, in a country which was rapidly being peopled with inhabitants notoriously adverse to their exercise, is another question. But Gorges was a faithful member of the Church of England; and no doubt, therefore, could arise as to his determination to execute the trusts relating to that Church according to their true meaning.

The Maine Charter affords another proof that the design of Charles in granting it was to establish and perpetuate in New England the same order of things which existed in the Mother country. The Commission, also, issued in 1634 to Laud and others, the general provisions of which I have already pointed out, was evidently given in furtherance of the same object [13]; and the Orders in Council, and other restraints, imposed, or intended to be imposed, upon the New England emigrants [14], are all based upon the hypothesis that the ordinances of one and the same Church were to be administered, and the laws of one and the same King to be obeyed, upon both sides of the Atlantic. I cannot now look upon many of those measures with feelings different from those which I have experienced in describing them; and it is not, therefore, with any desire to retract or qualify the expressions of regret to which I have before given utterance, that I again advert to a policy which, unjust

[13] Vol. i. pp. 411, 412. Bancroft has not described the extent of this Commission too strongly, when he says that it gave 'full power over the American plantations; to establish the government and dictate the laws; to regulate the church; to inflict even the heaviest punishments; and to revoke any charter which had been surreptitiously obtained, or which conceded liberties prejudicial to the royal prerogative,' i. 407. See also Chalmers, 158.

[14] Vol. i. p. 399.

and oppressive in itself, was made so much more hurtful by the mode of its execution; but simply that I may state, in all sincerity, the fact that Charles and his counsellors were not the only parties upon whom blame in this matter rests. The emigrants to New England, by agreeing to the terms set forth in these Charters, nay, not merely agreeing, as though by constrained acquiescence, but actually petitioning for them and exerting all their influence to obtain them, became parties to a compact, which, unless truth and honour are unmeaning words, they were bound to observe. The compact, however, was neither observed, nor ever meant to be observed. It was instantly, openly, and deliberately violated. Nor was this all. Whilst the emigrants claimed, in this questionable manner, independence for themselves, they denied it to all others who differed from them; and that so rigorously, that, in a very few years after the issuing of the Charter for Maine, we find one of the first historians of the United States in the present day, acknowledging, that 'base ambition' was mingled with the schemes of church government, which Massachusetts was then devising, and 'a false direction' given to the legislation of her state government; that 'the creation of a national, uncompromising church, led the Congregationalists of that province to the indulgence of the passions which had disgraced their English persecutors; and *Laud was justified by the men whom he had wronged*[15].'

[15] Bancroft, i. 450, 451. How strange is it, that, in the face of such an admission as this, the same writer should say, eleven pages onward, of the same Puritan settlers in New England, that they 'did not attempt to convert others, but to protect themselves; they never punished opinion as such; they never attempted to torture or tempt men into orthodoxy!'

If this be the language of one, whose eloquence is never more brilliant than when it is called forth in praise of the first settlers of New England, it is easy to foresee that the spirit of aggrandizement, which he thus describes, would, by indulgence, become stronger. The new settlement of Maine held out many temptations for such indulgence. Towns quickly arose along its sixty miles of sea coast; and facilities of trade drew inhabitants to each of them, who followed, for the most part, their own courses, with little interference from Gorges and his agents. The struggle that was going on at home hindered the Proprietor of Maine from maintaining the requisite exercise of his powers; and, when that struggle ended in the overthrow of the Monarch who had granted them, it was hopeless to insist upon the fulfilment of the Charter. At this moment, Massachusetts stepped in and laid her strong hand upon the province. The same special pleading, with regard to the extent of her own privileges, employed so successfully in the case of New Hampshire, she now repeated with not less success in the case of Maine. The same intrigues also were set on foot in this, as in the former, instance; and the elements to work upon being the same,—namely, as Chalmers truly states, an 'ignorant and fanatical' people,—the same result of discord and confusion followed. Amid such divisions, Massachusetts found the means of her own advancement. Some of the towns of Maine she persuaded to yield to her jurisdiction; others, she compelled; and thus, by following a course of action, of which the dexterity and boldness, but not the justice, may be commended, she succeeded, at an early period of the Common-

Maine annexed to Massachusetts in 1651.

wealth, in bringing the whole province under her authority[16].

Summary of the subsequent history of New Hampshire and Maine.

Petitions to remedy these grievances were addressed, by the grantees of New Hampshire and Maine, to Cromwell and his Parliaments in vain. And the later applications of Gorges and Mason, grandsons of the original Patentees, to Charles II., were not more successful. 'Nothing,' says Chalmers, 'could be more evident than the justness of their pretensions, except the frivolity of the pretences on which they had been deprived of their possessions[17].' This, let it be remarked, is the testimony of a writer who had access to all the official documents connected with the controversy, and has given references to them so full and exact, that it is in the power of all who wish it to ascertain, in every instance, the accuracy with which he prosecuted his researches. He states, that, notwithstanding the King's written commands to the Court of Massachusetts to restore to the Proprietors their lawful rights, and the exertions of the Royal Commissioners, appointed to carry the same into effect, the Court thwarted all their proceedings. Wearied out by a vexatious struggle of fourteen years' duration, Gorges and Mason tendered their respective claims to the King; and he gladly listened to them, being desirous to make New Hampshire and Maine a settlement for his illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth. But the same Court of Massachusetts, which

[16] Chalmers, 480. The only exceptions were the villages lying furthest eastward, but even they had surrendered their independence before the end of 1658.

[17] Ib. 482.

had hitherto resisted the claims of the Proprietors, now disputed their right to dispose of the lands in question; and refused even, for a time, to send any agents to this country, to state its reasons in defence of such proceedings. At length they agreed to send agents; influenced, probably, by the threat held out by the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, that, unless they did so, every means would be employed to interrupt the trade of the Colony [18].

The question was argued, in 1677, before Chief Justice Rainsford, of the King's Bench, and Chief Justice North, of the Common Pleas, afterwards Lord Guilford; and the invalidity of the Massachusetts claims, which had been for so many years asserted with such effrontery, was at once confessed, by their agents giving up all title to the land of the petitioners. The Judges accordingly confined the limits of Massachusetts to those described in its Charter, and the meaning of which they then clearly defined; and adjudged to Gorges the territory assigned to him under the Charter of Maine, with such right of government as was granted under the same. So far all appears simple and satisfactory; but, inasmuch as some of the lands which the petitioners claimed were in the hands of parties who did not then appear before

[18] Ib. 483. A Council of Trade, for superintending the whole commerce of the nation, had been appointed by Charles, after the Restoration; and, in 1668, a Board of Trade and Plantations was appointed by Parliament. Beatson's Political Index, iii. viii. Supplement. Evelyn was appointed a member of this Board, Feb. 28, 1671, and makes many allusions to the difficulty which they had, in their meetings during the same year, with respect to the 'peevish and touchy humour' of the Massachusetts Colony, and the disposition which it manifested to declare itself 'independent of the Crowne.' Memoirs, ii. 337. 342—346.

the Judges, they further reported that they had not entered into any examination of the same, but referred the parties to courts of justice in the Colony, having jurisdiction, for the decision of the question of title[19]. This last direction, however, equitable as it appeared to be, made the whole decision of the Judges nugatory. For the men, before whom the parties were thus directed to bring their claims, themselves occupied the disputed property; and hence, little or no progress could be made towards a satisfactory adjustment. The matter became still further perplexed, and the King further irritated, by another act of the Court of Massachusetts. For, as soon as the Court saw that the province of Maine would be awarded by the Judges to its lawful Proprietors, it prudently purchased the same, in spite of the King's known intention and wish to purchase it for himself; 'and, having (in the words of Chalmers,) determined to retain what its superior address had gained, it easily found excuses to palliate what it could not defend.' The Court so far regarded the original Patent of Gorges, as to appoint officers and administer justice throughout the province of Maine, in the mode therein prescribed; but, of course, treated with supreme contempt all its instructions touching the laws and ordinances of the Church.

With respect to New Hampshire, when the Court of Massachusetts solicited a renewal of that jurisdiction over it, which had been restrained by the report of the Chief Justices, although the people of New Hampshire themselves supported the application, the King refused to grant it; and resolved to establish a temporary ad-

[19] The Report of the two Chief Justices is given at length in Chalmers, 504—507.

ministration in the province, to be carried on by a President and Council, who should be appointed by the Crown. But here a spirit of infatuation marred a project in itself wise and commendable. For the terms of the New Hampshire Patent assumed that men were to administer its concerns, who were attached to the laws of our country, and to the ministrations of our Church; and, whilst the powers, now entrusted to the executive of this Colony, gave liberty of conscience to all, it was said that they should be especially directed to the encouragement of the Church of England. Nevertheless, the members of the first Council, under Cutt, the first President, were enthusiastic Independents, and devoted to the interests of Massachusetts. Hence arose a determination upon their part to reject, or make abortive, any instructions transmitted to them from the Crown, which were unpalatable to themselves. The President was 'an honest man and loyal subject,' and seems to have done his duty with fidelity and courage, as long as life lasted. But his career was a short one. And, upon his death, an end was put to a government, of which the members appear to have done nothing else than obstruct the views of those who had invested them with authority.

Lionel Cranfield was next appointed, in 1682, Lieutenant-governor and Admiral of the province. The terms of his Commission were substantially the same with those which, we have seen, had been given to the Governors of Virginia. But he had no power to execute the duties delegated to him; and scarcely a single man could be found in the Colony who was not, in his heart and conscience, opposed to the laws which Cranfield was commissioned to enforce. He was firm and courteous; and, at first, the exhibition of these quali-

ties won for him some support. But the first Assembly which he convoked, soon proved to him, by its opposition to all his views, that there was no way of obtaining peace, save by submitting to every demand which its members chose to make. Resistance upon his part was followed by insurrection upon theirs; and so the work of anarchy went on, until Cranfield, baffled in all his plans, ruined in his fortunes, and blamed even by the authorities at home for not adhering to instructions which, under any circumstances, it would have been impossible to obey, was, at his own earnest entreaty, recalled in 1685, leaving Barefoot as Deputy-governor. Meanwhile, Mason's just claims for compensation had never been satisfied. The law, indeed, gave judgments in his favour; but the officers appointed to execute them were unable to act. In this condition of difficulty and depression, we leave the Colonies of New Hampshire and of Maine [20].

Progress of the Colony of Massachusetts.

The progress of Massachusetts now demands attention. The 200 emigrants who sailed from England, with John Winthrop for their leader [21], in 1629, under the authority of Rosewell's Charter,—but, not until they had succeeded in transferring, contrary to one of its express conditions, the place of government from London to Massachusetts [22]—found Salem, which had been settled by

[20] Ib. 482—498.

[21] Cradock, who had been nominated Governor in the Charter, would not undertake the voyage. Neal, i. 132.

[22] Holmes's American Annals, i. 204. That no impediment should have been put in the way of this proceeding by the King, is justly supposed by Robertson to have been either because he 'was so much occupied at that time with other cares, occasioned by his fatal breach with his Parliament, that he could not attend to the proceedings of the Company; or he was so much pleased with the

Endicot in the preceding year, a miserable village, consisting only of a few small huts, and occupied by a hundred Planters, who were scarcely able to supply themselves with food. From this obscure centre, a mighty and enduring power soon spread. The settlements of Charles Town and Dorchester were begun by Winthrop and his followers, a few months after their arrival. Other emigrants soon joined them; and, in the next year, a party from Charles Town removed to a peninsula at the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, where they built Boston, now the chief city of the province. In all their difficulties and struggles, they received the most valuable succour from the previously established Colony of Plymouth and its Governor, William Bradford; and few histories are more full of stirring interest, than those which recount the progress of the New England emigrants. Through the diligence and perseverance of the first settlers, and constant addition to their numbers by emigrants from home, the Colony quickly advanced to such an extent, that, before the commencement of the Civil War in England, 50 towns and villages were founded, 30 Churches and ministers' houses built, and numerous and extensive Plantations highly cultivated [23].

Character of the Colonists.

The instruments, engaged in carrying on the work to this successful issue, were men of unbending hearts and busy hands. It was quickly seen, that both the end which they pro-

prospect of removing a body of turbulent subjects to a distant country, where they might be useful, and could not prove dangerous, that he was disposed to connive at the irregularity of a measure which facilitated their departure.' History of America, B. x. Works, xi. 289.

[23] Neal, i. 133; Chalmers, 166.

posed to aim at, and the means which they employed to gain it, were wholly independent of the former associations which bound them to the land of their fathers; and that an abrupt, wide, and permanent separation from them was all to be established, as soon as they crossed the Atlantic. The laws, by which they had been formerly governed, were deemed no longer fitted for their use. The words of prayer and praise, which had fallen from the lips of worshippers in the Churches of their native land, were to be repeated no more; the sacred ordinances administered in those Churches,—which were then, as they had been in the generations of old, and will, to the end of time, continue to be, the source of holiness and happiness to thousands,—were not, for an instant, to be tolerated; and all reverence for those ordinances, and for the spiritual rulers with whom they were identified, was henceforth to be trampled under foot, as an unclean and hateful thing. And yet, this rude rejection of all that we hold justly dear, was not the work of scoffers or ungodly men; but of men, loud in their profession, and ardent in their desire, to glorify God. For that cause, they declared that they left both home and kindred; and the words of solemn covenant which they subscribed, as soon as they set foot in the new country, were these:

'We covenant with the Lord, and one with another; and we do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all His ways, according as He is pleased to reveal Himself unto us in His blessed word of truth;—we give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the word of His grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying of us in matters of worship and correction, resolving to cleave unto Him alone for life and glory, and to reject all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in His worship. We promise to walk with our brethren, with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jea-

lousies and suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any wherein we are the Lord's stewards [24].'

It were impiety to suppose that they who put their hands to such a Declaration were not sincere. On the contrary, I believe, not only that they were sincere, but animated by a greatness of thought and will, which taught them to brave cheerfully every danger, and to count not even their lives dear unto themselves, so that they might secure the liberty which they longed for. And yet as little, I think, can it be doubted, that they knew "not what spirit" they were "of;" and, that, in the burning zeal with which they insisted upon the reception of their doctrines, they were frequently hurried to conclusions which, if others had arrived at the same, they would have been the first to condemn. Viewing Church government only through the medium of its abuses, they forgot how many and vital points of agreement, in matters of faith, existed between the instruments of that government and themselves; and hence were led to break asunder the bonds of brotherhood, which might, and ought to have been, preserved inviolate. Thus truth was exposed to jeopardy on every side, "amid the strife of tongues;" and the sequel will show how often, and how fearfully, her sacred prerogatives were outraged, in the wild uproar that ensued. Let the words of our own honoured poet bear witness to this humiliating fact. He speaks, in accents of no faint praise, of 'The Pilgrim Fathers;' nay, assuredly declares them

> 'Blest,—as they took for guide,
> A will by sovereign conscience sanctified,

[24] Cotton Mather's Magnalia, i. 18.

> Blest, while their spirits from the woods ascend
> Along a Galaxy that knows no end,
> But in His glory who for sinners died.'

And yet, he sees the clouds even then rising up and darkening that bright field of vision; and thus describes it:

> 'From Rite and Ordinance abused they fled
> To Wilds where both were utterly unknown;
> But not to them had Providence foreshown
> What benefits were miss'd, what evils bred,
> In worship neither raised nor limited
> Save by Self-will[25].'

The 'evils bred,' thus, by the indulgence of 'self-will,' were no mere coinage of the poet's brain, but painful realities; the germ of which may be discerned in those wrongful acts, which, we have already said, the settlers of New England committed at the outset of their career. To solicit rights and privileges, which, at that time, a Royal Charter only could bestow; and, having gained them, to cast off, forthwith and for ever, all regard for the chief conditions which accompanied them; to speak of the Church of England in terms of such warm affection, as those which are set forth in Winthrop's farewell letter; to describe themselves as a Church springing out of the bowels of the Church of England, and to ask the blessing of her prayers upon their enterprise[26]; and yet to drive out those

[25] Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Sonnets.

[26] Neal, i. 132, who there quotes only the concluding part of the letter, which fully bears out what I have said above. But the whole letter is given by another writer, from whose pages I extract a yet more striking passage: 'Howsoever your charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement, through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather amongst us—for we are not of those that dream of

brothers, to whose case I have more than once alluded, for no other crime than that of using the Book of Common Prayer in the worship of their common Saviour; these were the unseemly blots which defaced the earliest records of their proceedings. That the men who caused them should have stood neither self-condemned and humbled, as they contemplated such acts of theirs, nor have striven to obliterate at once all traces of them, seems well-nigh incredible. Not only did they never manifest any such feelings, but they could receive with calm indifference, the rebuke which Blackstone, a Clergyman, and one of their own party, uttered against them, when, refusing to countenance their measures, he said, 'that, as he came from England, because he did not like the Lord Bishops, so he could not join with them, because he would not be

perfection in this world—yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principles and body of our company, as those who *esteem it our honour to call the Church of England, from whence we arise, our dear mother*, and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes; *ever acknowledging, that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts; we leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body shall rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her;* and, while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus. Be pleased, therefore, fathers and brethren, to help forward this work now in hand, which if it prosper, you shall be the more glorious.' Baird's Religion of the United States, 107, 108. How these words are to be reconciled with the course pursued immediately afterwards, by the men who indited them, is to me perfectly inexplicable.

under the Lord Brethren[27].' It is a vain task to attempt a solution of the complex problem which such a history presents. We must leave it, as we find it; a signal instance of the evils into which zealous men may plunge themselves, who hold, howsoever sincerely, only a portion of the truth.

The unjust severity of their laws

The General Court of Massachusetts, held, for the first time, as the Charter required, in October, 1630, was not long in doing that which was plainly contrary to its provisions. It conferred upon itself new powers; and, through this usurped authority, enacted laws, repugnant, in many most important particulars, to those of England; notwithstanding that the Charter had said, in express terms, that no such repugnancy was to be permitted. In the next year, the Court decreed that none but freemen of the province should elect the Governor and other officers; and that they only were to be accounted freemen, who were in communion with each other, according to their own arbitrary rules of Church-membership. The powers, thus boldly assumed, were maintained with a high hand; and, accordingly, the Court, held at Boston, May 14, 1634, declared that it alone had power to make and establish laws, to raise money and taxes, and to dispose of lands; and that the freemen, of whom it was composed,—chosen, two or three in number from the several Plantations or towns by the freemen of each,—should, as their representatives, deliberate and decide upon all affairs of the commonwealth, except such as related to the election of Magistrates and other officers, wherein every freeman was to give his own

[27] Neal, i. 135.

voice. It was further provided that there should be four such General Courts held every year; to be summoned by the Governor for the time being; and not to be dissolved without the consent of the majority[28]. At first, all the magistrates and representatives sat together, and acted as one body. But, in 1644, a division was made of them into two bodies, each of which had a negative upon the acts of the other. The laws, enacted before this division was made, and continued afterwards, were most severe. Blasphemy, idolatry, witchcraft, heresy, perjury, profanation of the Lord's Day, treason, reviling of the Governor and Council, rebellion, disobedience to parents, murder, adultery, incest, man-stealing, and bearing false-witness, were, all of them, declared crimes to be alike punished by death. Again, disregard of their Churches' authority, reviling God's worship, and disrespect to magistrates, were offences, which doomed those who committed them to banishment. Against fornication, the penalties of compulsory marriage, or of a fine and imprisonment, were affixed. Upon those who were guilty of swearing, drunkenness, robbery, and the like, the punishments were imposed of imprisonment, or scourging, or branding, and boring the tongue through with a hot iron; and, if any of the latter class of crimes were committed on the Lord's Day, the offender was further condemned to lose one of his ears. Many of these laws were obviously at variance with the principles which the framers of them so jealously asserted in their own behalf, 'that no human power is lord over the faith and consciences of men.' But this

[28] Chalmers, 153; Hazard, i. 320.

gave them not any concern. They executed them as rigorously as if they alone had received a commission from Heaven to determine what was right among men. And hence, they not only maintained that bitter and unsparing warfare against the Church of England, which has been already described; but put to the rout, in 1643, a party of persons who, under the authority of the Assembly of Divines, attempted to set up the Presbyterian government in Boston. Moreover, they sentenced all Jesuits and Popish Priests, found within their borders, to banishment, and, if they should return, to death; and, in 1652, extended the same law to all Quakers, prohibiting any of 'that cursed sect,' as they called them, from entering the Colony, and ordering those who might be found there, to be banished, upon pain of death. In this manner, the apostles of religious liberty commended their principles to the world[29]!

Their extravagant dread of superstition.

The abolition of all those festivals by which the Christian Church, from the earliest ages, had commemorated the most holy and blessed mysteries of its faith, and the pro-

[29] Chalmers, 165—167. See also Abstract of New England Lawes, 1641, chap. vii. viii. It is curious to observe the gentle terms in which some of the champions of New England speak of the severity of the early settlers. Thus, in a pamphlet, said to have been written by Mather, and published in 1689, entitled 'A brief relation of the State of New England, &c. it is said, p. 7. 'Not but the people there being but men, have had their failings as well as other men in all places of the world. The only thing (so far as I can learn) which can with any colour of truth be justly reflected on them as a great fault, is, that in some matters relating to conscience and difference of opinion, they have been more rigid and severe than the primitive Christians, or the Gospel doth allow of.'

hibition of certain amusements, which by many good men are deemed lawful and harmless, followed as necessary corollaries from such acts of legislation. And, as for the enmity of the New England emigrants, against all and every thing which might seem to savour of superstition, it was carried to so extravagant a height, that, when a certain fanatic had cut the red cross of St. George out of the standard of England,—being, as he alleged, a sign of idolatry,—a long and grave dispute ensued with respect to the lawfulness of retaining that emblem; some arguing, that to erase it would be an act of rebellion against their sovereign, which they were not yet prepared avowedly to commit; whilst others were ready to run the risk of that imputation, rather than to pay honour, as they said, to an idol, by marching under colours which bore the cross upon them. The dispute was only ended by a compromise, which permitted the red cross still to wave upon their ships and castles, whilst, to such fastidious train-bands of the militia as desired it, a banner without the cross was given[30].

Rules of Church-membership.

The General Court of Massachusetts, in which was vested, by its own act, the whole government of the Colony, was composed only of those who were admitted to the freedom of the Company. None could vote for such representatives, except those who shared the like freedom; and they only were allowed to share it, who were in communion with each other, according to their own rules of Church membership:—rules determined only by the will of the Clergy and Elders of the

[30] Ib. 156.

respective congregations[31]. A Covenant and General Confession had been drawn up, on their first arrival, when Higginson was constituted pastor, and Skelton teacher, of the first Church, then settled at Salem; but 'as for the circumstances of admission into this Church,'—I here quote Cotton Mather's words,

'They left it very much unto the discretion and faithfulness of their elders, together with the condition of the persons to be admitted. Some were admitted by expressing their consent unto their confession and covenant; some were admitted after their first answering to questions about religion propounded unto them; some were admitted when they had presented in writing such things as might give satisfaction unto the people of God concerning them, and some that were admitted, orally addressed the people of God in such terms as they thought proper to ask their communion with: which diversity was perhaps more beautiful than would have been a more punctilious uniformity: but none were admitted without regard unto a blameless and holy conversation. They did all agree with their brethren of Plymouth on this point, 'that the children of the faithful were Church-members, with their parents; and that their baptism was a seal of their being so;' only before their admission to fellowship in a particular Church, it was judged necessary, that, being free from scandal, they should be examined by the elders of the Church, upon whose approbation of their fitness, they should publicly and personally own the covenant, so they were to be received unto the table of the Lord[32].'

It must be evident to all who know the natural intolerance of the human mind, and the impulse given to it by ignorance, or prejudice, or passion, that, to make Church-membership dependent upon the decision to be given in such a manner, and by such self-constituted judges, was to place it upon a very uncer-

[31] Robertson justly remarks, that the Clergy hereby acquired an authority from which the rules of the Independent Church polity would otherwise have excluded them. Works, xi. 202.

[32] Cotton Mather's Magnalia, i. 19.

tain and precarious basis. It was an usurpation, in fact, of God's prerogatives; an attempt to make man a judge of those secret motives of action in his brother man, which are known only to the Great Searcher of all hearts. If the judgment were unfavourable, it invested the judges with the further and most dangerous power of depriving the condemned party of all part or lot in those spiritual privileges, which were deemed by themselves essential to the peace and welfare of the soul. And when, or by whom, could such a power have been exercised with advantage, or even with safety? In striving thus to gather up the tares, they must inevitably, in many instances, have rooted up the wheat likewise. In putting thus away from them every one who could not, or would not, repeat their own shibboleth, they must frequently "have made the heart of the righteous sad, whom" the Lord had "not made sad" (Ezek. xiii. 22). Nor did the evil stop here. They, who were thus put under the ban of exclusion in matters spiritual, were debarred from all temporal rights and privileges enjoyed by freemen of the province. And so, the injustice of the test was made more cruel, and another confirmation given to the truth of the words already quoted, which speak of the 'benefits' which are 'missed,' and

> 'Evils bred,
> In worship neither raised nor limited
> Save by Self-will.'

Lechford's 'Plain Dealing.'

A remarkable witness of the magnitude of such evils is found in the person of Thomas Lechford, who published, in 1641-2, a pamphlet, entitled, 'Plain Dealing; or

Newes from New England[33].' He had emigrated to Massachusetts, about four years before; having, as he states in his preface, suffered 'imprisonment, and a kind of banishment,' from his native country, 'for some acts construed to oppose, and as tending to subvert, Episcopacie, and the settled Ecclesiasticall government of England.' That Lechford was not really guilty of the offences thus charged against him, is evident from the whole tenour of his pamphlet; and one object in writing it was to 'purge' himself 'of so great a scandal,' and 'to intreat all' his 'superiors, and others, to impute it rather to' his 'ignorance, for the time, than any wilfull stubbornnesse.' His description of the Church-government of Massachusetts, especially of that part of it which relates to the rules of admission to Church-membership, agrees with that just quoted from Cotton Mather, but is more minute. These rules, he relates, were acted upon with such rigour, that, sometimes the master was admitted, and not the servant; the husband, and not the wife; the child, and not the parent; and *vice versâ*. If the parties, hearing the evidence why any one should be received into, or retained in, communion, were satisfied that the accused were guilty, their silence was deemed a sufficient assent; and sentence of admonition, or excommunication, was forthwith pronounced. If the offence charged related only to erroneous opinions, the teacher pronounced the sentence; but if to ill manners, then the pastor pro-

[33] The copy from which I have quoted, is contained in a Volume of Bishop Kennett's Tracts. The pamphlet has lately been republished in the Third Volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

nounced it[34]. The ruling elders did not usually pronounce any sentence; 'but I have heard,' adds Lechford, 'a Captaine delivered over to Satan, in the church at Dorchester, in the absence of their minister.' The person excommunicated was held as a heathen and publican; although, in Boston, the children were sometimes allowed to eat with their excommunicated parents; and an excommunicated magistrate was still to be obeyed in civil matters. In most towns of New England, the excommunicated person might be present at prayer, provided he did not take any eminent position in the Assembly; but, at Newhaven, he was compelled to stand outside, at the door, in frost, or rain, or snow. Censures of this kind were, for the most part, he admits, exercised with moderation. Yet, he relates the case of

'a gentlewoman excommunicate, for some indiscreet words, with some stiffnesse maintained, who had said, A brother, and others, she feared, did conspire to arbitrate the price of joyners' worke of a chamber too high, and endeavoured to bring the same into civill cognizance, not proceeding to take two or three to convince the party, and so to tell the church (though she first told the party of it); and this without her husband.'

The offender, here spoken of, was still under sentence of excommunication at the time of Lechford's departure from the Colony. The writer of this and other like statements,—for he says elsewhere, that he was not admitted as a communicant during the whole

[34] Lechford draws a distinction between the offices of pastor and teacher; the former, being regarded by some persons as appointed 'to minister a word of wisdome,' and the latter 'a word of knowledge.' But others, he says, regarded the two offices as one; and he specifies the Church of Watertowne as having two pastors, and refusing to send any messengers to any other Church-gathering or ordination.

period of his sojourn in the Colony, and that only because he demurred to their mode of Church discipline,—having a lively sense of the evils which he describes, asks, whether this 'independent mode, of every Congregational Church ruling itself,' were not virtually to introduce, 'not only one absolute Bishop into every parish, but, in effect, to make so many men so many Bishops? If all are rulers,' he enquires further, 'who shall be ruled?' and urges his brother emigrants to remember the Apostolic precept, "My brethren, be not many masters" (James iii. 1). But the injustice, of which he especially complained, was their making the possession of temporal privileges dependent upon a participation in Church-membership. His words are,

'Now the most of the persons at New England are not admitted of their church, and therefore are not freemen: and when they come to be tryed there, be it for life or limb, name or estate, or whatsoever, they must be tryed and judged too by those of the church, who are in a sort their adversaries. How equall that hath been, or may be, some by experience doe knowe, others may judge.'

Towards the end of his pamphlet, and in some letters appended to it, Lechford discusses, with singular candour and acuteness, some of the chief arguments in support of Episcopacy, confessing, that, at one time of his life, he had not duly regarded them, but that his experience of the state of things in New England had since taught him to hold them fast. The many important matters, still remaining to be noticed in this chapter, prevent me from giving even a summary of these arguments. It is only left for me gratefully to acknowledge, that, in a day of intolerance and strife, this writer exhibited a modera-

tion equal to his firmness; and that the sense of his own wrongs did not provoke him to bring a railing accusation against those who had inflicted them, but that, by calm reasoning and patient appeal to Scripture, he strove to vindicate most vital truths.

Roger Williams.

A short time before Lechford's arrival in Massachusetts, another man, of very different stamp, had started up, and struck terror into the hearts of her rulers, by the boldness and vigour with which he condemned their acts. His name was Roger Williams[35]. He had landed in the Colony, in 1630, and was afterwards chosen to succeed Skelton, the first pastor of the Church at Salem. The opinions which he proclaimed, had they been adopted, would quickly have broken down the whole framework of government established by his brother emigrants; for he not only pronounced it unlawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate, and refused to do so in his own person, but declared that the King had never possessed authority to grant their Charter; that it was injurious to the natives; and to be renounced by themselves as invalid. He maintained also that it was only with the duties of the second table of the moral law, that the magistrate had any concern; that a general and unlimited toleration of all opinions was,

[35] Cotton Mather introduces his notice of Williams in the following quaint terms: 'In the year 1654, a certain windmill in the Low Countries, whirling round with extraordinary violence, by reason of a storm then blowing, the stone at length by its rapid motion became so intensely hot, as to fire the mill, from whence the flames, being dispersed by the high wind did set a whole town on fire. But I can tell my reader, that about twenty years before this, there was a whole country in America like to be set on fire by the rapid motion of a windmill, in the head of one particular man.' Magnalia, B. vii. p. 7.

therefore, of necessity, to be allowed; and, that, to punish men for matters of conscience, was persecution[36]. He refused to hold communion with all persons who did not hold the same opinions; and insisted upon his followers imitating his example. He would not even associate with his wife, because she attended worship at Salem; and separated himself from his children, because they were unregenerate; a result, which arose out of a previous doctrine taught by him, that it was not lawful for an unregenerate person to pray[37]. Such opinions and practices, asserted by any man, must have provoked the censure of the Court of Massachusetts; but, supported as they were by Williams with great zeal, and eloquence, and undaunted courage, and repeated, by large numbers of his avowed disciples and followers, they soon drew down upon him the sentence of exile from the Colony, as a disturber of its peace.

He fled from Salem, in 1636, amid the rigours of an inclement winter; and was sorely tossed about 'for fourteen weeks, not knowing what bread or bed did mean; and often, in the stormy night, having

[36] Neal, i. 141.

[37] Grahame, i. 226. Another perilous conclusion drawn from this doctrine, was urged upon him by Hooker at his trial. 'If it be unlawful,' says Hooker, 'to call an unregenerate person to pray, since it is an action of God's worship, then it is unlawful for your unregenerate child to pray for a blessing upon his own meat If it be unlawful for him to pray for a blessing upon his meat, it is unlawful for him to eat it, for it is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer, unsanctified. (1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.) If it be unlawful for him to eat it, it is unlawful for you to call upon him to eat it; for it is unlawful for you to call upon him to sin. Hereupon, adds Cotton Mather, Mr. Williams chose to hold his peace, rather than make any answer.' Magnalia, B. vii. p. 8.

neither fire, nor food, nor company; wandering often without a guide, and having no house but a hollow tree.' His friendship in earlier days, with the neighbouring Sachems of some Indian tribes, profited him in this hour of need; and from Massassoit, the chief of the Pokanokets, and Canonicus, the chief of the Naragansetts, he received the food and shelter which sustained and protected him until the spring. The place, which he first pitched upon for his habitation, was within the limits of the Plymouth Patent; and, having received a private hint from Governor Winthrop, that he should bend his steps towards Naragansett Bay, which lay beyond those limits, he proceeded thither [38].

Rhode Island.

His companions were only five in number. They made their voyage safely in a small Indian canoe, and landed upon a spot in the Bay, to which, in token of his trust in God's overruling power, Williams gave the name of Providence, which it still retains. Before two years had passed away, he purchased, from the Naragansetts, territory on the continent, and in the islands of the Bay, and distributed it among the many English emigrants who resorted thither as a safe place of refuge, not reserving to himself a single foot. He still acted there upon the same principles, which he had in vain endeavoured to vindicate in Massachusetts; and never manifested any desire to retaliate upon his persecutors. The civil government in the State of Rhode Island [39] was that of a purest democracy; and, in all spiritual

[38] Mass. Hist. Coll. quoted by Bancroft, i. 378, 379.

[39] This name is said to have owed its origin to the words Rood Eylandt, which the Dutch gave to the country, on account of the

matters, its inhabitants enjoyed that entire liberty of conscience which Williams had always advocated. But, if we are to follow the authority of Neal and Cotton Mather, we must believe that the experiment failed; for the one asserts, that, 'proceeding from one whimzy to another, they soon crumbled to pieces, every one following his own fancy, till at last religion itself grew into contempt, and the public worship of God was generally neglected;' and the other, quoting a similar description from his namesake Cotton, relates that the 'separate Church (if it may be called a Church) which separated with Mr. Williams, first broke into a division about a small occasion (as I have heard), and then broke forth into Anabaptism, and then into Antibaptism and Familism, and now, finally, into no church at all[40].'

With such testimonies before me, I cannot but regard as exaggerated the terms of enthusiastic praise in which Bancroft has spoken of Roger Williams. Yet, his name deserves to be held in grateful memory. For he continued to exhibit in Rhode Island, throughout a period of nearly half a century, the same self-denying and generous spirit, which had before distinguished him; relieving the distressed, sheltering the persecuted, even when they had been his own persecutors; striving still to maintain with the Colony, from which he had been banished, a friendly intercourse; and seeking to proclaim the Gospel to the neighbouring Indians. The celebrated leader of the Antinomian party, Mrs. Hutchinson, of whom more will be said

redness of the foliage in autumn. Moulton's New York, quoted in Rhode Island Historical Collections, iii. 22.

[40] Bancroft, i. 380; Neal, i. 143; Mather's Magnalia, B. vii. 9.

presently, found in Rhode Island a temporary asylum from her enemies, and in Williams, one who sympathized with her extravagancies; but, from the fearful errors introduced soon afterwards by Gorton, another religious enthusiast, even Williams himself was compelled to shrink. In 1643, Williams was sent to England, by the inhabitants of Rhode Island, to procure for them a Charter; and, through the assistance of Vane, succeeded in obtaining one, under the name of 'The Incorporation of Providence Plantations in Naragansett Bay.' From the confederacy entered into at that time by the other Colonies of New England, for their mutual defence, Rhode Island was excluded, on account of the apprehension still entertained of the dangerous tenets of its inhabitants. But this exclusion only led them to cultivate, with renewed assiduity and success, the friendship of the neighbouring Indians, from whom they obtained fresh grants of territory; and to establish, in the genuine spirit of democracy, a government for themselves. Their government was suspended for a short time, under the Commonwealth, but was soon resumed, and continued until the Restoration; when, after some delay, another Charter was granted, which, with slight alteration, has been the foundation of the government of its people ever since[41].

Remarkable toleration of the Charter granted afterwards to Rhode Island by Charles II.

Some of the provisions of this Charter may here, by anticipation, be especially noticed for their tolerant character. A like spirit, indeed, will be seen hereafter to distinguish many of the documents, drawn up for the government of our Colonies under Charles II., and a remarkable contrast be found

[41] Neal, i. 148; Chalmers, 171.

therein to the condemning rigour of many enactments which, at the same time, were recorded in our Statute Books at home. But, in no instance, as far as I can learn, is the spirit of tolerant benevolence so pure as in the Rhode Island Charter. It would seem as if the fame of Roger Williams had stimulated the rulers of England to imitate his generous nature. The following extract will best prove the largeness and equity of the privileges conferred:

'Being willing to encourage the hopeful undertaking, and to secure [the inhabitants] in the free exercise and enjoyment of all their civil and religious rights, appertaining to them, as our loving subjects; and to preserve unto them that liberty, in the true Christian faith and worship of God, which they have sought with so much travel, and with peaceable minds, and loyal subjection to our royal progenitors and ourselves, to enjoy; and because some of the people and inhabitants of the same Colony, cannot, in their private opinions, conform to the public exercise of religion according to the liturgy, forms, and ceremonies of the Church of England, or take or subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalf; and for that the same, by reason of the remote distances of those places, will (as we hope) be no breach of the unity and uniformity established in this nation: Have thought fit, and do hereby publish, grant, ordain, and declare, That our royal will and pleasure is, that no person within the said Colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any differences in matters of religion, and do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said Colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgements and consciences, in matters of religious concernment, throughout the land hereafter mentioned, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly; and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury and outward disturbance of others[42].'

[42] Rhode Island Historical Collections, iii. 243.

The Antinomians of New England.

Among the many persons who found in Rhode Island a place of safety from the storms of persecution, which were provoked by their own wilful violence, I have mentioned Mrs. Hutchinson. She had emigrated, in the first instance, to Massachusetts from Lincolnshire; and, being, as Cotton Mather relates[43], 'a gentlewoman of an haughty carriage, busie spirit, competent wit, and a voluble tongue,' speedily distinguished herself, amid the enthusiasts who abounded in the province, by advocating the wildest tenets of Antinomianism. Whatsoever share in the truths of the Gospel might hitherto have been regarded, as their own undoubted privilege, by the founders of Plymouth, or Salem, or Boston, those claims, she now told them, in the most distinct terms, were a delusion. The Colony was involved in grossest darkness; and no favour from the Almighty could be hoped for, until a thorough and entire change were effected. Its rules of Church-membership, she asserted, were worse than futile. No holiness of life could be regarded as the index of a title to salvation. Salvation depended solely upon the irrespective decrees of eternal election; and the abiding force of such decrees,—an assurance of which was said to be conveyed, by immediate inspiration, to the individuals whom they concerned,—superseded the necessity of any other obligation. In consequence of the favour which such opinions met with from large numbers of the people, the words of Cotton and other pious Clergy, whose ministrations had long been received with reverence and affection, were laughed to scorn. Mrs. Hutchinson, and her brother, Wheel-

Mrs. Hutchinson, and her brother,

[43] Magnalia, B. vii. p. 18.

Wheelwright.

wright, were deemed the sole oracles of wisdom and truth. Harry Vane the younger, who had emigrated to New England a short time before the breaking out of these divisions, and been elected Governor of the Colony, was suspected of sympathy with these leaders of the Antinomian party; and, failing to be re-elected Governor, in consequence of this suspicion, returned home. But all the elements of religious discord were left behind him in active operation. It was no question of abstract argument which was at issue; no mere expression of opinions, of which the influence might have been confined only to the pulpits, or houses, in which they were expressed; but, at every turn, some practical evil or other was found to arise out of these fierce disputes. The very serjeants of the Governor hesitated to take up their halberds and march before him, because they feared to recognise therein 'the covenant of works;' and, for the same reason, the soldiers were slow to obey their officers, and go out and oppose some hostile Indian tribes, at a time when they were threatening seriously the safety of the province.

At length, on the 30th of August, 1637, a synod of deputies from the several congregations of New England, with their ministers, was convened, to consider the eighty-two propositions which had been drawn up, as embodying all the objectionable doctrines of the Antinomians; and an unanimous sentence of condemnation was passed against them. But the mischievous leaven continued to spread, and did not cease, until severer measures were resorted to; and the banishment of Wheelwright and others was soon followed by that of Mrs. Hutchinson herself. Wheelwright, we have seen, fled to New Hampshire; but, at the end of seven years, renounced

his errors, and was permitted to resume his ministerial duties, which he successfully carried on, for a long time afterwards, at Hampton. Mrs. Hutchinson, after tarrying for a while in Rhode Island, removed, with her family, into one of the Dutch Plantations, where she and they were murdered by the Indians [44].

Massachusetts was disturbed afterwards by many other religious divisions, of which those caused by the Anabaptists were the most conspicuous; but we have no space here to enumerate them. The fearful history of the witchcraft delusion will be noticed hereafter.

Connecticut.

The growing energies of Massachusetts were soon extended to another quarter. A band of her people set out, with leave of the General Court, in quest of fresh places of settlement, along the fertile valley of the Connecticut; and established themselves on its western bank, in 1635-6. But, before their arrival, other parties from England had arrogated to themselves a share of the same territory. The Plymouth Council had granted to Robert, Earl of Warwick, in 1630, the land extending from Naragansett river for forty leagues, towards the south-west, and, within that breadth, from the Atlantic to the South Sea; and that nobleman, in the following year, had made it over to Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brook, and others [45]. These proprietors, in their turn,

[44] Neal, i. 166—178.

[45] Among the Patentees mentioned in this document, the names of John Pym and John Hampden occur, a fact confirmatory of what I have said (Vol. i. p. 399) respecting the interest which they and their political friends took in the New England settlements, and the consequent probability of the truth of the story which has been told respecting their intended departure to that country, and their forced detention at home.

sold portions of the land to George Fenwick; and he, with the assistance of John Winthrop, fixed a settlement at the mouth of the Connecticut, and built there a fort, called after the names of two of the chief proprietors of whom he had purchased it, Saybrook. The collision which might have arisen from the arrival of these two different bands of settlers, at the same time, in the same territory, was avoided by the retirement of Fenwick, and the sale of his lands to the Massachusetts emigrants [46]. But the title, which they thought thus to secure to themselves, was, after all, invalid; for the land, made over to Saye and Brooke, and sold by them to Fenwick, had been assigned, in 1635, by the Plymouth Council to the Marquis of Hamilton [47]. The settlers lived, therefore, as they best could, under a self-framed form of government, for which Church-membership was not required to be an indispensable qualification, as it had been in Massachusetts. But, feeling the very questionable character of their position, they obtained from Charles II. a Charter which conferred upon them most ample privileges, and was silent with respect to religious rights [48].

New Haven.

Other parties, from England and Massachusetts, under the guidance of Hooker and various ministers, whose names are distinguished

[46] Hazard, i. 318; Neal, i. 148; Holmes, i. 233.

[47] Story's Commentaries, i. 72; See also 'General History of Connecticut. By a Gentleman of the Province,' 1781, pp. 9—31; and Chalmers, 288.

[48] Story's Commentaries, i. 74; Holmes, i. 318. This Charter, it is said, only conferred upon the inhabitants of Connecticut the authority of a legal corporation, and did not convey a title to the lands. Moreover, the title belonging to the Marquis of Hamilton, had never been forfeited. General History of Connecticut, ut sup.

in the annals of American history, soon followed the first settlers in Connecticut; and, in 1638, the settlement of New Haven was formed, under Davenport and Eaton. They, and their followers, came out direct from England, without authority from the Patentees, and settled upon the shores of the territory lying south-west of the Connecticut river, between it and the Hudson. Their laws closely resembled those of Massachusetts, and their Churches were all formed upon the model of the Independents. In course of time, the Planters of this Colony stretched across the Bay, and established themselves on the opposite coast of Long Island. In some cases, it is alleged that the lands, both in Connecticut and New Haven, were purchased of the Indian Sachems; but a writer, to whom I have referred more than once, asserts that the Sachems, to whom the land originally belonged, had already fallen a prey to the English settlers; and that the plea of purchase was fraudulently advanced. 'Possession begun in usurpation,' he continues, 'is the best title the inhabitants of Connecticut ever had, or can set up, unless they can prove that they hold the lands by an heavenly grant, as the Israelites did those of Canaan.' And this plea, he relates, was urged by Thomas Peters, brother of the celebrated Hugh, by Hooker, and by Davenport, the chief ministers, to whom the people of these settlements looked up for guidance. 'The heathen,' it was argued, 'are driven out, and we have their lands in possession; they were numerous, and we are few; therefore hath the Lord done this great work, to give His beloved rest[49]!'

[49] Neal, i. 152; History of Connecticut, ut sup.

The Pequod war.

Whether such absurd and impious pleas were gravely maintained or not, it is certain that in no quarter did the aggressions of Englishmen against the natives assume a more definite character than against those in this region. The tribe of Pequod Indians, the most numerous and formidable of any, lived upon the banks of a river, now called the Thames, twelve miles eastward of the Connecticut. Charges had been brought against them, some years before, of having murdered the crew of an English trading vessel, which had visited their shores; but from these they seem to have sufficiently cleared themselves, by pleading the necessity of self-defence. As time passed on, fresh outrages, provoked, doubtless, by the nearer approach of the white man, were alleged against them. The Pequods, in their danger, made alliance with the Naragansett Indians, from whom petty jealousies and quarrels had hitherto kept them disunited. But this alliance was speedily dissolved, through the address and courage of Roger Williams. The Pequods, thereupon, had to bear, single-handed, the assault soon made upon them by their English neighbours. Animated by the exhortations and prayers of their ministers, and determined to crush at once all danger which hung over them from the Indians, the English, amounting to not a hundred men, attacked the enemy, who were behind their rush palisades in far superior numbers. As long as the combat was carried on hand to hand, victory was with the more numerous; but the English leader suddenly cast a burning brand among the Indian wigwams. The flames then drove them forth, a helpless prey for the English marksmen; and six hundred of them, men, women, and children, thus

perished upon that spot. The soldiers of Connecticut followed up the victory; fresh forces from Massachusetts joined them; and afterwards, to use the words of Bancroft, whose tone of complacency in describing this war of extermination, seems never to be disturbed by any thought of its questionable character, 'the remnants of the Pequods were pursued into their hiding places; every wigwam was burned, every settlement was broken up, every corn field laid waste. Sassacus, their Sachem, was murdered by the Mohawks, to whom he had fled for protection. The few that survived, about two hundred, surrendering in despair, were enslaved by the English, or incorporated among the Mohegans and the Naragansetts. There remained not a sannup nor a squaw, not a warrior nor child, of the Pequod name. A nation had disappeared from the family of man [50].'

Colonies of New England united, in 1643.

The danger, thus repelled by the joint efforts of New England emigrants, was not over. Other Indian tribes looked upon their movements with jealousy and alarm, and might, upon the first favourable opportunity, assail them; and there was reason to fear that the Dutch or French might resent the encroachments which the settlers of Connecticut and New Haven had been gradually making upon lands which they regarded as their own. Massachusetts therefore proposed, in 1638, to the Colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, that they should unite for their general defence; which they did in 1643. New Hampshire and Maine were not permitted to join them, because their feelings were not deemed to be in accordance with their own; and the application of Providence and Rhode Island to be

[50] Bancroft, i. 401, 402.

admitted into the confederacy was likewise rejected, because they refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the Plymouth Colony. The Union, therefore, was limited only to the four already mentioned. They gave to themselves henceforward the title of 'The United Colonies of New England;' each retaining its own local jurisdiction and privileges; whilst to magistrates, annually chosen, was entrusted the management of all affairs which concerned the Union generally. No confirmation of these proceedings was sought for, or obtained, from home. On the other hand, no opposition to them, either then, or for many years afterwards, was manifested in that quarter. Neither the Long Parliament, nor the Protector, nor Charles II., made any effort to dissolve the Union. It continued in full force, until the final abolition of all the Charters of the Colonies which composed it [51].

[51] Chalmers, 177. 292; Bancroft, i. 420; Hazard, ii. passim.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I. TO THE END OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

A.D. 1625—1660-1.

Harvard College.

WHILST the deliberations were in progress which led to the formation of the Union, spoken of at the end of the preceding chapter, another work had been designed and begun in Massachusetts, which demands our warmest gratitude and admiration,—the institution of Harvard College. The resolution, indeed, to enter upon that work, and the history of the efforts made to accomplish it, form the brightest page in the early annals of New England. The formation and growth of such institutions are not ordinarily found in infant settlements. But, in the present instance, a period of ten years only had elapsed since the commencement of the Colony of Massachusetts had been marked by the first few huts built at Salem. Her territorial possessions were still limited to a few miles of sea-coast, which, notwithstanding the high-sounding titles of the Charter, were held only by a precarious tenure. Scarcely five thousand families were yet congregated along her shores. Even food,

and shelter, and raiment were not to be obtained, save by hard toil and unremitting care. The Indian foe was ever watching them without, and wild fanaticism weakening their strength within. Yet, at such a time, amid difficulties so many and urgent, the General Court resolved to appropriate, towards the establishment of a school or college, the sum of £400; 'equal,' it is said, 'to a year's rate of the whole Colony.' The village of Newtown, about three miles west of Boston, was the spot chosen by them for its site; and, holding still in grateful recollection the ancient Universities of their native land, and aspiring to emulate their fame, they changed the name of the village for that of Cambridge, which it has ever since retained.

But another name was justly conferred upon the Institution which was to arise in the new town of Cambridge; for, in 1638, two years after the passing of the resolution of the General Court, and before any definite steps had been taken to carry it into effect, John Harvard, a Clergyman who had arrived from England,—having been silenced there for Nonconformity,—died, and bequeathed to the future College the half of his entire property, and all his library. All ranks of men joined eagerly in the promotion of a work, towards which Harvard had thus led the way, vying with each other in their free-will offerings of money or of goods; and so far succeeded in their efforts, that, in the autumn of 1640, the first President, Henry Dunster, entered upon the duties of his office. Of him, or of his successor in the same office, Chauncy, it is, of course, impossible to speak in this place as they deserve[1]. The record of their zeal and piety,

[1] Upon the death of Chauncy, the Presidentship is said by Orme to have been offered to the celebrated John Owen in England, and

their learning and diligence, their trials and disappointments, must be looked for in the pages of those writers who have faithfully traced the progress of this Institution, from the struggles of its first origin, to the height of its present greatness [2]. I will only add, that, in the early Charters for the government of Harvard College, no trace occurs of the rigorous and exclusive spirit which so strongly distinguished, in matters both spiritual and civil, the other ordinances and laws of Massachusetts. That the influence of this spirit, indeed, was neither withdrawn, nor intended to be withdrawn, is evident from the course pursued afterwards by Increase Mather, when he was President. Nevertheless, to meet with any one document, in the early annals of New England, not marred and blotted by the decrees of spiritual tyranny, is a fact which demands thankful acknowledgment.

Education.

We may here notice the care manifested generally by the early settlers in New England, for the education of their youth. Thus, among the laws passed in 1642, it is ordered, that

'None of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families, as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue.'

declined; but Holmes doubts the correctness of the report. Compare Orme's Life of Owen, 265, and Holmes's Annals, i. 321, note. There is no doubt, however, that, in 1663, Endicott wrote to Owen, in the name of the General Court, inviting him to succeed to the vacant office of pastor in the first Congregational church established in Boston. It is said by some, that Owen had thoughts of accepting this invitation, but was deterred by the prospect of increasing difficulties in America; and by others, that he was stopped by an order of the Court, after some of his property had been actually embarked. Ib. 230—232, and Holmes, ut sup.

[2] The history of Harvard University by Peirce and Josiah Quincy.

And, again, in 1647,

'To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers,' it is ordered 'that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school; the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University[3].'

Hugh Peters.

In the year 1635, when the tide of Puritan emigration was at its height, the celebrated Hugh Peters arrived in Massachusetts. The story of his life, according to some authorities, had been disgraced by acts which ill accorded with the zeal which he now professed for religion. The irregularities of his youthful days, which drew down upon him the sentence of expulsion from the University of Cambridge, had been followed, it is said, by his appearance as an actor upon the stage of a public theatre. After this, having obtained admission into Holy Orders, and being appointed Lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, London, he was prosecuted upon a charge of adultery; and, flying to Rotterdam, became joint pastor of an English congregation in that city.

His ministry at Salem.

Salem was the next scene of his ministerial duties; and there, the New England historians represent his career in terms which, if they are borne out by facts, must lead to the con-

[3] Laws quoted by Bancroft, i. 458. Story, noticing this last law, in his Commentaries, i. 61, adds, that it 'has, in substance, continued down to the present times; and has contributed more than any other circumstance to give that peculiar character to the inhabitants and institutions of Massachusetts, for which she, in common with the other New England States, indulges an honest, and not unreasonable pride.'

clusion, that, either the report of his former evil life is untrue, or, else, that a change was wrought in his whole character, such as the world has very rarely witnessed. Neal, for instance, inserts his name in the list of those seventy-seven Puritan Ministers, who had been in Orders in the Church of England, and fled to North America; having, as he says, 'a better share of learning than most of their neighbouring Clergy at that time; men of great sobriety and virtue, plain, serious, affectionate Preachers, exactly conformable to the doctrines of the Church of England, and' taking 'a great deal of pains to promote a reformation of manners in their several parishes.' And, although he relates afterwards of Peters, that, upon his return to his native land, he made a great figure under the Protectorship, and 'meddling too much in State affairs, was excepted out of the general pardon, and executed with the King's Judges in the year 1660;' yet he adds nothing which can lead the reader to suspect the existence of any of those acts of cruelty and malice with which Peters has been charged. Grahame, a modern authority, speaks also of Peters as one 'who united an enterprising genius with the warmest devotion to the interests of religion and liberty;' and asserts that 'he not only discharged his sacred functions with zeal and advantage, but roused the planters to new courses of useful industry, and encouraged them by his own successful example;' and, that, when he returned to the Mother country, 'his race remained in the land which had been thus highly indebted to his virtue[4].' Such testimonies are perplexing

Conflicting testimonies respecting him.

[4] Neal, i. 195—199; Grahame, i. 230.

enough to any one who, anxious to ascertain the truth, turns his attention to other quarters, and finds the same man described by Clarendon as the 'ungodly confessor,' who attended the Hothams to the scaffold; by South, as a 'wretch,' and a 'reproach and scandal to Christianity;' and by Burnet, as 'an enthusiastical buffoon preacher, though a very vicious man, who had been of great use to Cromwell, and outrageous in pressing the King's death with the cruelty and rudeness of an inquisitor;' and had 'neither the honesty to repent of' those acts which brought him to a violent death, 'nor the strength of mind to suffer for' them with that resolution which distinguished his companions[5]. The probability is, that,—being, to use the words of Bancroft, a man whose 'fanaticism' was that 'of an ill-balanced mind, mastered by great ideas, which it imperfectly comprehended;' and, as is even admitted further by Harris his biographer, who writes with an evident bias in his favour, being 'weak, ignorant, and zealous, a proper tool for ambitious, artful men to make use of[6],'—he was often carried away to extremes which truth and holiness must alike condemn; and these excesses have been made to appear yet more hideous, through the representations of them by men whom he once oppressed, and who, in their turn, regained the mastery. That

[5] Clarendon's Rebellion, v. 199; South, iv. 222; Burnet's Own Times, i. 290. The account in Burnet and South of Peters' conduct upon the scaffold, it should be observed, is totally at variance with that which appears to be the more authentic report of his execution in Howell's State Trials.

[6] Bancroft, ii. 32; Harris's Works, i. xxxix. Ed. 1814. The other references to Harris in this work have been to the edition of 1758.

he bore a prominent part in the cruel and bloody scenes which preceded and followed the King's death, there can be no doubt. And, if Evelyn has recorded in his Diary, a few days before that event, that he 'heard the rebell Peters incite the rebell powers met in the Painted Chamber to destroy his Ma^ty^[7],' it may easily be imagined in what colours such a man would be described by the many who, sharing neither the gentleness nor wisdom of Evelyn's spirit, shared yet his sympathies with the King's cause. If Burke also, in a later day, could cite the language of Peters, as an example of the mischief produced by men who bring into the sanctuary of God the worst passions of secular politics, and could animadvert, in a tone of commiseration and regret, upon the impiety with which, beholding the downfall of Royalty, he had dared to repeat the *Nunc dimittis* of devout and aged Simeon, we may well understand to what extremities of indignation other men might be hurried, who treasured up in their memories the sayings of this same man, and reviewed them not in the spirit of the philosophic statesman[8]. The sacredness of his profession, they would regard, as stamping a deeper brand of infamy upon every act and word of his which offered violence to it. Upon the Chaplain and the companion of Cromwell, would fall the heaviest burden of that odium which made both the person and office of the Protector so abominable in the eyes

[7] Evelyn's Memoirs, ii. 3.

[8] Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France. Works, v. 40. 132. It is evident, from the last of these passages, that the case of Peters was regarded with compassion by Burke. 'They dealt (he says) at the Restoration, perhaps, too hardly with this poor good man.'

of the great mass of the Royalists. His wit would be called buffoonery; his zeal, hypocrisy; his quickness, cruelty; and, whilst coarse and vulgar satirists held him up to ridicule[9], his death by the hands of the public executioner would be looked upon, by those who with a calmer spirit contemplated it, as a punishment righteously inflicted upon not the least guilty of the Regicides. Yet it is only justice to the memory of Peters to observe, that, in the testimony which he left with his daughter, entitled 'A dying Father's last legacy to an only child,' he has solemnly denied the accusations brought against him; and, although the testimony of a witness in his own behalf cannot be received as proof of innocence, yet the language employed by him upon the other subjects there treated of, exhibits the most touching evidences of an earnest, affectionate, and pious spirit.

Bishop Lake.

I call attention to one passage in the above treatise, because it is a rare instance of the grateful and kindly feelings which, notwithstanding all the bitterness of those sad times, were still cherished and expressed by a Puritan towards a Bishop of our Church. Speaking to his daughter of the colonisation of New England, Hugh Peters distinctly states that his 'friend Mr. White of Dorchester, and *Bishop Lake, occasioned, yea, founded that work, and much in reference to the Indians*, of which (he says) we did not fail to attempt, with good success to many of their souls.' And then, referring her to a Sermon of Bishop Lake for proof of his assertion, he adds that that prelate had 'profest to Mr. White, that he himself would

[9] Granger's Biog. Hist. iii. 53.

have gone with them but for his age[10].' The Sermon in question will be found in the folio copy of the Bishop's works, published in 1629. It was preached, as I have already remarked[11], before Charles I. and the House of Lords, on a Fast Day, July 2, 1625. Its text is 1 Kings viii. 37; and the following passage, towards the conclusion, shows the feeling with which Lake regarded the duties consequent upon the growing relations of England with other countries:

His remarkable Sermon preached before Charles I. and the House of Lords.

'Neither is it enough for vs to make much of it [the possession of Christian truth] for our own good, but also wee should propagate it to others. And here let me tell you, that there lieth a great guilt vpon Christian States, and this amongst the rest, that they haue not been carefull to bring them that sit in darknesse and in the shadow of death to the knowledge of Christ and participation of the Gospel. Much trauelling to the Indies, East and West, but wherefore? Some go to possesse themselues of the lands of the infidels, but most by commerce, if by commerce, to grow richer by their goods. But where is the Prince or State that pitieth their soules, and without any worldly respect endeauours the gaining of them unto God? some show we make, but it is but a poore one; for it is but *πάρεργον*, an accessorie to our worldly desire; *ἔργον* it is not, it is not our primarie intention. Whereas Christ's method is, Matt. vi. 33, "First seeke ye the kingdome of God, and then all other things shall be added unto you." You shall fare the better for it in your worldly estate. If the Apostles and Apostolicke men had affected our saluation no more, we might have continued till this day such as sometimes we were, barbarous subjects of the prince of darknesse.

'Those of the Church of Rome boast of their better zeale for the kingdom of Christ; but their owne histories show that ambition and

[10] A dying Father's, &c. ut sup. 101. The same notice of Bishop Lake occurs in Francis's Life of Eliot. Amer. Biog. v. 36.

[11] See Vol. i. p. 387.

covetousnesse haue beene the most predominant affections that haue swayed their endeauours, and they haue with detestable cruelty made their way to those worldly ends, and instead of sauing soules haue destroyed millions of persons. We should take another course for their conuersion, yea, the same that was taken for ours; and if wee doe, it is to be hoped God will continue vs his people, and adde daily to his Church such as shal be saued [12].'

His life and character.

The Bishop of our Church, who thus gave utterance to these words, is one who deserves to be held in grateful memory. He was brother of Sir Thomas Lake, Principal Secretary of State under James the First. Educated at Winchester and at New College, Oxford, he was at a later period of his life elected, first, a Fellow of the former College, and, next, Warden of the latter. He was afterwards appointed, in succession, to the Mastership of St. Cross Hospital, the Archdeaconry of Surrey, and the Deanery of Worcester; and, in 1616, was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells. 'In all these places of honour and employment,' Wood states that 'he carried himself the same in mind and person, showing by his constancy that his virtues were virtues indeed; in all kind of which, whether natural, moral, theological, personal, or pastoral, he was eminent, and, indeed, one of the examples of his time. He was also well read in the fathers and schoolmen (which made him one of the best preachers), that few went beyond him in his time [13].' Another biographer describes him as continuing 'the same in his Rotchet as in his Scholler's gowne [14];' a man of singular holi-

[12] Bp. Lake's Sermons, &c. Part ii. 217.

[13] Wood's Athenæ Oxon., ii. 399.

[14] Short View of Bp. Lake's Life, prefixed to his works. It is anonymous, but the author was Dr. John Harris, elected Warden

ness, and charity, and generosity; a laborious and successful preacher; yielding to no man in his love of peace, but a lover of truth yet more. He died in 1626; and was succeeded by Laud, at that time Bishop of St. David's.

The language of his last Will.

That Lake had no sympathy with the disaffected Puritans, as some might imagine, who look only to his reputed friendship with White of Dorchester, or to the terms in which he is spoken of by Hugh Peters, is evident from the high commendation bestowed upon him by disciples of the opposite school. The testimony of Wood has been already cited. Walton, also, in his life of Sanderson, speaking of the consecration of Lake to the office of Bishop, describes him as a man who 'made the great trust committed to him the chief care and whole business of his life.' Fuller, too, relates that Lake was elevated to that office, 'not so much by the power of his Brother (Secretary to King James), as his own desert; as one whose piety may be justly exemplary to all of his order[15].' Evidence to the same effect is supplied in his own published works, particularly, his ten Sermons preached on particular occasions, and published in a separate Volume. The language of his last Will gives further confirmation of it; for there he says,

'I desire to end my life in that faith, which is now established in

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of Winchester in 1630. He shared not the same feelings in Church matters with the prelate whose character he so much admired; but, siding with the Presbyterians, became a member of the Assembly of Divines, and so held his Wardenship until his death in 1658. Wood's Athen. Oxon., iii. 455.

[15] Walton's Lives, p. 286; Fuller's Church History, B. xi. p. 126.

the Church of England, whereof I am a member, and have been, by God's blessing, well nigh thirty years a Preacher; and my soul's unfeigned desire is, that it may ever flourish and fructify in this kingdom, and in all his Majestie's Dominion, and from thence be propagated to other countries which sit in darkness and the shadow of death, whether infidels or heretics[16].'

Reflections on his example.

It is remarkable, that, in this dying expression of his love for the Church of England, the good Bishop should have had her still present to his mind, bearing that very aspect in which he rejoiced so much to contemplate her, namely, as an instrument to propagate, among the countries of the heathen, the blessed truths of which she is the witness and keeper. It shows that his last thoughts and prayers were still directed towards the fulfilment of that mission, in which he was so anxious, had it been possible, to have borne a part in his own person, and so strenuous in urging upon others who stood in the high places of the earth. That his prayers should have been hindered, and the work, which he thus desired to forward, marred, by the outbreak of the grievous contentions, to which such frequent reference has been made, is a fact which casts a deeper shade of sorrow over these humiliating records. The strength, which might and ought to have been brought to bear with concentrated force upon enterprises which needed the combined prayers and efforts of all, was utterly wasted by disunion. The rulers of our Zion, through their severity, had driven out some of her holiest children from her borders; and they, in their turn, were so blinded with indignation against the persons of their

[16] Short View, &c. ut sup.

oppressors, as to triumph in the overthrow of all authority which of right belonged to their office[17]. Meanwhile, the truth was neglected more and more, as the unhappy strife went on; and none of those acts of charity, which it was her high prerogative to have exercised among the inhabitants of heathen lands, were for a long time attempted by her professed disciples who resorted to New England.

Conduct of New England emigrants towards the Indians.

The Charter of the Massachusetts emigrants had declared the principal end of their Plantation to be the winning and inciting 'the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith.' And, upon their arrival, they so far recognised the duty as to insert the following words in the Covenant drawn up and subscribed by them at Salem:

'We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the Gospel in all truth and peace; both in regard of those that are within or without; no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel, as need shall be; *not laying a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote;* and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of evil[18].'

The device also upon the seal of the Colony was the figure of an Indian with a label at his mouth, contain-

[17] Few passages are to be found in which this hatred of Puritans against the Episcopal Order is expressed in more awful terms, than in Bradford's MS. history of Plymouth Colony, of which he was the first Governor. The bitterness of his rancour upon hearing of the downfall of the Bishops, is only equalled by the falseness of his prophecy that they should never be restored. Prince's Annals of New England are chiefly compiled from this MS., which is now in the possession of the Bishop of London.

[18] Magnalia, B. i. p. 18.

ing the words "Come over, and help us[19]." But the early acts of the Colonists of New Plymouth betokened not an answer to this prayer. Massasoit, the most powerful Sachem of the Indian tribes, upon whose territory they first settled, had performed many offices of kindness; and not only entered into an alliance with them, but acknowledged allegiance to King James, and granted unto the Planters such lands as they required. Other chieftains followed his example: and thus, a favourable and early opportunity was offered to the English of extending to the Indians the benefit which they professed themselves so desirous to give. But,—not to dwell now upon the obvious fact, that they could only have gained such concessions from the native Sachems, by taking advantage of their ignorance or of their necessities,—the early annals of New England are wholly silent in regard of any systematic efforts made by her people for the spiritual improvement of its Aboriginal inhabitants. In many instances, alarm and suspicion were awakened against them; and sometimes, as in the case of the Weymouth settlement, open quarrels and bloodshed ensued. The English were quick to observe and ascertain the meaning of any act, upon the part of the Indians, which portended danger; and dexterous in explaining to them, by like symbols, their own determination to retaliate. Thus, when a messenger arrived in their Plantations from the chief of the Naragansett tribe, with a bundle of arrows wrapped up in a snake's skin,—a token, it was said, of war,—they forthwith struck terror into the hearts of those who sent it, by

[19] Life of Eliot. Amer. Biog. v. 37, note. The same device, with a slight alteration, was afterwards adopted as the Seal of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

returning some powder and ball tied up in the same snake's skin. But we hear not of any avowed and formal efforts, at this time, to make known, either by word or sign, unto the Indians the power of the Gospel of Christ[20]. The two or three instances which are reported of the conversion of individual natives, it is admitted, 'were incidental cases,' and 'not resulting from systematic efforts on the parts of' the Pilgrim 'fathers.' 'O that you had converted some, before you killed any,' writes Robinson, their former pastor at Leyden, to the Governor of Plymouth. The biographer of Eliot tries to vindicate the first settlers in New England from the censure which the expression of such a wish cast upon them, by pleading their necessities and ignorance of the Indian character[21]. Doubtless, these causes may have had their influence. But he has omitted to refer to others, which are distinctly enumerated by Lechford, and show that the early neglect of the Indians by the Puritan emigrants was, in a great degree, to be ascribed to their own avowed principles.

'There hath not been,' he says,—writing in 1641,—'any sent forth by any church to learne the natives' language, or to instruct them in the religion. First, because they say they have not to do with them being without, unlesse they come to heare and learn English. Secondly, some say out of Rev. xv. 8, it is not probable that any nation more can be converted, till the calling of the Jews; "till the seven plagues finished none was able to enter in the temple," that is, the Christian Church; and the "seventh viall" is not yet poured forth, and God knowes when it will bee. Thirdly, because all churches among them are equall, and all officers equall; and so, betweene them, nothing is done that way. They must all therefore equally bear the blame; for indeede I can humbly conceive, that, by their principles, no nation can or could ever be converted.

[20] Neal, i. 87—102. [21] Life of Eliot, ut sup. 37.

Therefore, if so,' he shrewdly asks, 'by their principles how can any nation be governed [22]?'

Eliot, 'the Apostle of the Indians.'

A brighter page in the annals of New England now claims our attention; that which records the piety and zeal of John Eliot, 'the Apostle of the Indians.' Most cheerfully do I award to him this honoured title. My regret that such a man was separated, by the adverse circumstances of his time, from the Church in whose bosom he was nurtured, shall not prevent me from acknowledging, with gratitude and admiration, the course of his arduous and successful labours. Born at Nasing, in Essex, in 1604, of parents whose watchful piety was the instrument through which, he relates, his 'first years were seasoned with the fear of God, the word, and prayer,' he repaired to the University of Cambridge, and there practised himself in those intellectual exercises, and gained those stores of learning, which paved the way for his subsequent career. He was early associated with the Nonconformists; and his intimacy with Hooker, afterwards one of the most distinguished ministers of that body in New England, —whose friendship he had acquired by assisting him in the duties of a school which he once conducted at Little Baddow,—led him to repair to that same region. That he had entered into Holy Orders in the Church of England before he left home, is evident from the insertion of his name in the list given by Neal of the emigrant Clergy, to which I have referred above. On his arrival at Boston, in 1631, he is described as 'a well-qualified minister,' and 'preacher,' and, on that account, was called to undertake those duties in a

[22] Lechford's Plain Dealing, 21.

Church in that place, which Governor Winthrop and two other laymen were then discharging, in the absence of Wilson, its pastor. In the following year, Eliot removed to Roxbury, where many of his countrymen and friends had settled, with whom he had before promised to enter into the relation of pastor, as soon as the opportunity might arrive. His marriage took place that same year.

The most prominent public acts recorded of Eliot, during the next twelve years of his life, were, first, his unwelcome censure of a treaty made by the rulers of New England with the Pequod Indians; and, next, his exposure of the mischief that arose out of the promulgation of the Antinomian tenets by Mrs. Hutchinson. Meanwhile, he was calmly, yet diligently, preparing himself for his great work of preaching the Gospel to the Indians, by learning their language. He devoted two years to this object; forming first of all,—through the medium of oral communication with an Indian servant who knew a little of the English language,—an acquaintance with those strange, uncouth words, which have no affinity with or derivation from any known European tongue, and, according to the quaint description of Cotton Mather, appear to have 'been growing ever since Babel unto the dimensions to which they are now extended;' then, singling out some noun, or verb, and pursuing it through all its variations, until he arrived at certain general rules, by a careful comparison and analysis of which he was enabled, several years afterwards, to draw up a grammar of the Indian language. 'Prayers and pains through faith in Christ Jesus will do any thing,' are the words of pious acknowledgment which he wrote at the end of his

His mode of learning their language.

grammar, when he had finished it; and, with this unquestioning trust in a strength mightier than his own, Eliot set out, in 1646, to preach the Gospel to the Indians[23].

His first attempt to 'bridle, restrain, and civilise' the Indians who lived in the vicinity of Roxbury, was not successful. 'They gave no heed to it,' he relates, 'but were weary, and rather despised what I said.' But, afterwards hearing that some of them had expressed a desire 'to be all one with Englishmen,' he told them that this unity would be effected, if they would pray and serve God as the English did, and labour also like them. He offered to 'come to their wigwams, and teach them, and their wives and children,' the means through which this could be done, if they were willing to hear him; and, having received their consent, 'from that day forward,' had 'not failed to doe what he could for their welfare[24].' The Indians of Noonanetum, in whose land Newton and Watertown are now built, were the first whom Eliot visited; and the text of his first Sermon was that appropriate passage of the Book of Ezekiel (xxxvii. 9, 10), which relates the command given unto the Prophet to bid the wind breathe upon the dry bones of the valley. The Sermon was preached in the wigwam of an influential Indian, named Waban, or Waubon, which is also the Indian word for 'wind.' And, although Eliot had no intention of making any application of the meaning of this name to the subject-matter of the text, yet the singular coincidence was

His ministrations among them.

[23] Magnalia, B. iii. 193.

[24] Eliot's Letter to Shephard, con'ained in a tract published by the latter in 1648, and entitled 'The clear Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians,' &c. p. 17.

remarked by some of the Indians, 'into whom this their Waban first breathed encouragement' to embrace Christianity [25]. He describes his usual exercise among the Indians as directed to four main points, besides that of prayer, namely, catechising, preaching, censuring them, and answering their questions. With respect to the first of these, he states, that the Indian children and youth were expert, being able to say readily all that he had taught them respecting the commandments, the creation, the fall, the redemption by Christ; and that even the aged people, by the frequent repetition of the truths which they heard, were enabled to teach them to their children at home. In his preaching, he tells us that he studied 'all plainnesse and brevity,' and that 'many were very attentive.' The office of censor was discharged by him with strictness, and yet with such tenderness as to melt the offender, upon some occasions, even into tears. But the particulars, detailed by Eliot, of the various instances in which the hearts of his Indian disciples were thus touched, as well as of those which relate to the fourth division of his allotted exercise among them, namely, the answers returned by him to the questions which they asked,—although full of interest and instruction,—it is impossible to place here before the reader in a condensed form. In the works above referred to, and in the various Tracts by Eliot, Mayhew, Winslow, Shephard, and Whitfield, upon the same subject, they will be found related at length [26].

[25] Ib. 33.

[26] The above Tracts are contained, in their original form, in Bishop Kennett's Collection, in the possession of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and have also lately been republished by the Massachusetts' Historical Society.

Besides all this, Eliot taught the Indians agriculture, and various kinds of handicraft, supplying the men with spades, and mattocks, and crows of iron, and the women with spinning wheels, which each were willing to employ. Habits of industry were thus created among them; and the Indians were seen not only bringing fruit, and fish, and venison, and implements of their own manufacture to the English markets, but also joining with English labourers in the work of hay-time and harvest. These were but the beginnings of an orderly and civilized mode of life, which Eliot thankfully acknowledged as the earnest of better things. 'Old boughs,' to use his own words, 'must be bent a little at once; if we can set the young twigs in a better bent, it will bee God's mercy.'

And also among his countrymen.

Whilst we thus notice the commencement and progress of Eliot's labours among the Indians, it is important to remark that his zeal for his own people at Roxbury, and for his countrymen in the neighbouring Plantations, seems to have been quickened all the more. Cotton Mather, for example, speaking of the efforts which Eliot made to promote the effectual instruction of his flock, states, that

'A grammar school he would always have in the town that belonged to him, whatever it cost him; and he importuned all other places to have the like. I can't forget,' he adds, 'the ardour with which I once heard him pray, in a synod of these churches which met at Boston to consider how the miscarriages which were among us might be prevented; I say, with what fervour he uttered an expression to this purpose, "Lord, for schools every where among us! that our schools may flourish! that every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives, that, before we may die, we may be so happy as to see a good school encouraged in every plantation of the

country." God so blessed his endeavours,' continues Mather, 'that Roxbury could not live quietly without a free school in the town; and the issue of it has been one thing, which has made me almost put the title of *Schola Illustris* upon that little nursery; that is, that Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the college, and then for the public, than any town of its bigness, or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness, in New England. From the spring of the school at Roxbury, there have run a large number of the streams, which have made glad this whole city of God[27].'

Of the sympathy and assistance which Eliot received from home, especially that manifested by the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among them, I will speak hereafter. At present, looking only to the course of his own personal ministrations among the natives of the American continent, the fact must not be overlooked, that, amid many encouraging signs of success, he had to encounter oftentimes the strenuous opposition of some for whose welfare he thus diligently and affectionately laboured. The chief cause of this opposition was the open warfare which, by the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, Eliot necessarily proclaimed against the superstitious practices of the Indian powaws. These men, by the charms and incantations which they pretended to exercise, maintained a strange dominion over the souls and bodies of many of their countrymen, who believed that they had power to drive away, or retain, diseases; that they held intimate communion with the invisible world of spirits; and that the weapons of the most formidable foes fell harmless beneath their influence. The Indian Sachems had been, of course, not slow to make such agency an instrument to promote their own ambitious

His difficulties.

[27] Magnalia, iii. 187.

or cruel purposes; and, since Christianity demonstrated the whole scheme to be a shameful fraud, and all the frantic howlings and dancings wherewith the people invoked its protection, to be the expression only of idle and superstitious fears, it was easy to foresee that this exposure would provoke the wrath alike of the craftsmen whose trade it endangered, of the rulers whose power it controuled, and of the people whose weakness it condemned. This result was soon manifested in the ill treatment which 'the praying Indians,' as they were called, met with from many of their brethren, and in the threats of personal violence denounced against Eliot himself. But Eliot, nothing daunted, strove the more earnestly to gather his disciples together into a safe habitation of their own; and, in 1651, removed them from Noonanetum, the first scene of his labours, to a spot upon the banks of Charles River, about eighteen miles to the south-west of Boston; and there laid the foundation of a town, called, in the Indian language, Natick, or 'a place of hills[28].'

His settlement at Natick.

Eliot framed for the inhabitants of this new settlement a form of government, according to the model of that proposed by Jethro unto Moses for the Israelites (Exod. xviii. 13—26), by which the whole people were divided into portions of tens, and fifties, and hundreds; and rulers, elected by themselves, were set over each. Solemn religious services marked the first institution of this government. In a few weeks afterwards, Endicott, the Governor of Massachusetts, and Wilson, one of its chief pastors, came over to Natick, and satisfied them-

[28] Eliot's Life, ut sup. 152—162.

selves of the success which thus far had attended Eliot's design. They surveyed the bridge built by the Indians over the river; the houses, fast rising up beneath their hands in the three streets marked out along its banks; and the various evidences of ingenuity and labour, displayed in the articles of their manufacture. They heard, too, the Indian schoolmaster read, line by line, a psalm which Eliot translated, and which was sung by the men and women who were present; and Eliot himself pray, and preach, and catechise in the Indian language. They carefully examined all the plans which he had still in contemplation for the improvement of his people; and returned to Boston, full of wonder and hope at the things which they had seen and heard. The work continued to spread. Other towns were designed for the reception of 'the praying Indians;' and, among the young men who had been trained under Eliot's own superintendence, some were already found fit to be selected by him for the discharge of missionary duties among their brethren. But the work did not thus go forward, without experiencing many checks and hindrances. Sometimes, imputations of disaffection to the English were falsely cast upon 'the praying Indians;' at other times, the misconduct of individual members of their body laid upon them the heavy burden of a real reproach; and, when tidings of the latter reached England, they gave a specious pretext to the many who, at all times, and under all circumstances, are glad enough to find, in alleged failure of Missionary enterprises, an excuse for their own refusal to co-operate. Hence, Eliot was led to exercise a more than ordinary circumspection, before he brought his disciples into that form of religious organisation which he thought the best; and, it was not until the year

1660, that he admitted the Indians of Natick into what was called Church-covenant.

The limits prescribed to myself in this chapter might here lead me to postpone the consideration of the sequel of Eliot's career. But, as this would be obviously an inconvenient course, I will now place it before the reader, as briefly as I can; observing only that the period of the Restoration, to which the story of his life has now brought me, is one of the very few in which the conduct of Eliot seems to have received, or to have deserved, any public censure. It was provoked by his publication of a work, entitled 'The Christian Commonwealth,' which the authorities of Massachusetts declared to be full of the most pernicious principles towards all established governments, especially the government established in their native country. They were most desirous, as we shall see presently, to propitiate, at this moment, the favour of the restored Monarch; and from this cause, probably, were led to pass a more stringent censure upon Eliot's treatise than they would have otherwise thought it necessary to have done. Indeed, his biographer represents the disapproval of the work was an act 'of state policy;' and says, that, 'had it been received in New England during the ascendancy of the Republicans, it would have probably incurred no censure.' Be this as it may, it is certain that Eliot publicly retracted the work which had provoked such grave censure; offered no defence of the expressions or sentiments to which objection had been taken; and expressed himself ready to maintain principles the very opposite of those imputed to him therein.

His publication of 'The Christian Commonwealth.'

His great work of translating the Holy

His transla-

Scriptures into the Indian language had long occupied his time and thoughts; but the prospect of its publication was, for many years, too far removed to admit the hope of being realised. It seemed as if all the knowledge of the Sacred Volume, which Eliot could leave behind him, was to be limited to those passages which, by frequent oral repetition, he had impressed upon the minds of the Indians. But, at length, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, resolved to undertake the expense of printing the New Testament. The types, and press, and other materials, having been sent out from England to America, the work was forthwith begun in that country, under the superintendence of Eliot, and completed soon after the Restoration. Upon receiving intelligence of the confirmation by Charles of the Society's Charter, the printing of the Old Testament was begun. In 1663, the whole work was completed; and a Catechism, and the Psalms in Indian verse, were added. The edition is said to have consisted of fifteen hundred copies; and assistance is reported to have been expected from, and probably was given by, Sion College. But the great and animating spirit at home, by which energy was communicated to this and other kindred works, at this time, was Robert Boyle; and his correspondence with Eliot, upon the subjects dear to both of them, is one of the most cheering facts which we are permitted to contemplate in an age so unhappily conspicuous for its religious feuds.

tion of the Bible into the Indian language.

His friendship with Boyle.

In 1680, a second edition of the Indian New Testament was printed; and a second of the Old, in 1685. These were the last; for the language is now extinct. It is, indeed, as the biogra-

His other works.

pher of Eliot remarks, 'a thought full of melancholy interest, that the people for whom it was designed, may no longer be considered on the roll of living men.' Had this thought been present to the mind of the translator, it might have relaxed the strength of his zeal, and cast a shade over the hopes of his declining years. But, labouring as he did for the men among whom he lived, he knew not what it was to falter or grow weary. In 1664 he published an Indian translation of Baxter's 'Call to the Unconverted;' and, fourteen years afterwards, an English Harmony of the Gospels. Again, in 1685, when he was past his eighty-first year, he published an Indian translation of Boyle's 'Practice of Piety;' and, three years later still, in a letter to Boyle, Eliot requests him to assist the printing of two other small tracts, which he had translated some years before. The course of such studies had naturally led Eliot to draw up, in a formal shape, the rules and observations which he had been compelled to make for his own use; and, having thus put together the materials of an Indian Primer, and afterwards of an Indian Grammar, he published them. The latter appeared in 1666.

His successes and discouragements.

Occupied thus with labours, which he seems to have prosecuted with as much vigour in the evening, as in the noon-day, of his long life, Eliot could reckon up, in the province of Massachusetts alone, not less than fourteen towns of 'praying Indians,' containing eleven hundred inhabitants; and, in Plymouth, and Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard, were many more settlements, under the care of other ministers. The gross amount of their population, including those before reckoned, was between three and four thousand. The disastrous war

with the celebrated Indian chief Philip, which broke out in 1675, and will be noticed hereafter, gave indeed a grievous blow to the hopes of Eliot and his disciples; and the spirit of exasperation against the Indians, which the progress of the war created, at times vented itself even against the person of their venerated father in the faith. But he swerved not from the line of patient and stedfast duty. Although the villages of his dear people were in many places destroyed, insomuch that, as he states in a letter to Boyle, the places of their assembling for public worship in Massachusetts were speedily reduced to four; although the bonds of confidence and peace among the surviving inhabitants were sorely injured, he still watched over them and comforted them; courageously defending them against false accusers; and earnestly striving to build up again, in faith and hope, the breaches which men's violent passions had made among them. When the war was brought to an end, and the much-dreaded Philip was no more, Eliot was distinguished by the zeal with which he sought to repress the cruel practice which then sprang up of selling the Indian prisoners into slavery. He writes to Boyle, in 1683, entreating him to exert his interest for the deliverance of some of these poor captives, whom he heard had been sent to Tangier, and to secure to them the means of returning home; adding, 'I am persuaded that Christ will at the great day reckon it among your deeds of charity done for his name's sake.'

His death.

And thus, even to the last hour of his existence, 'the Apostle of the Indians' sustained, with undeviating constancy, the duties of his high and holy calling; and when, as he confessed,

the powers of his understanding, and memory, and speech were failing him, he could yet bless God that his charity held out still, and rather grew than failed. He still preached to his disciples, once every two months, although bowed down beneath the burden of fourscore and three years. The clouds which for a time had hung over the villages of his Indian converts gradually dispersed; he was cheered by the conviction that his labour among them had not been in vain; and, in one of his latest letters to Boyle, in which he speaks of himself as drawing near his home, he adds the expression of his joy, that, at such a moment, he could take leave of his honoured friend with thankfulness. He died on the 20th of May, 1690; and the last words which trembled upon his lips, were repeated exhortations to prayer, and the exclamation, 'Welcome, joy[29]!'

Let us trust that words such as these, uttered at such a moment, by such a man, were an earnest of the blessing stored up for him amid "the spirits of the just men made perfect, the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven" (Heb. xii. 23).

Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England, established in 1649.

The Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England, from which Eliot derived the means of publishing his translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Indian language, was established by an ordinance of the Long Parliament, July 27, 1649, with power to receive and to apply monies for the purposes therein set forth. A general contribution also was required, under the same authority, to be made throughout

[29] Eliot's Life, ut sup. 162—335; Magnalia, iii. 181–209.

England and Wales; and ministers were directed to read it before their several congregations, and to exhort them to promote by their offerings the work proposed. The Universities issued public letters to the same effect; and, last of all, the appeal was extended to the army, beneath whose power, at that time, all other authorities in the land bowed down. From these several sources, notwithstanding the miserable condition of England through the Civil War, a fund of considerable amount was raised; and lands were also purchased of the value of five or six hundred pounds a year, and vested in a corporation, of which Judge Steele was the first president, and Henry Ashurst its first treasurer. The revival of the Society, by a new Charter, after the Restoration, was owing chiefly to the zealous exertions of Robert Boyle[30]; and the difficulties then encountered by him will be seen when we come to describe more fully the conduct of that great and good man. At present, I merely record the fact, as an index of that largeness of heart and depth of sympathy, which united again, in one common work of piety, those whom the divisions of that day had separated.

Intolerance of New England rule.

The manifestation of such union was rare; for the wildness of religious zeal had grown stronger by indulgence. Its impatience of controul at home was only equalled by its determination to exact entire obedience abroad: and the severities of New England's rule must ever form a prominent feature in its history. The stringent injustice already noticed of its earliest penal

[30] Eliot's Life, ut sup. 133—137. See also Scobell's Collection of Acts, Part ii. c. 45.

enactments, was not mitigated by the lapse of time. On the contrary, by becoming more familiar with the operation of such penalties, the settlers in New England were led to regard this vigour as indispensable to the maintenance of religious truth, and to carry it to more painful extremities. The evil consequences of such conduct are exposed and condemned in a remarkable pamphlet of that day, entitled, 'New England's Jonas cast up at London,' &c. It was published in 1647, by certain parties, whose names are attached to a Petition contained in it, and who thereby sought, but in vain, to remedy the evils of which they complained. They declared that Massachusetts had been planted by the encouragement given in the Charter to believe that a similarity of government with that of the Mother country was to be maintained in the province; but that they were unable to trace any such grounds of agreement; that 'an over-greedy spirit of arbitrary power' was ruling over all; 'the scale of justice too much bowed and unequally ballanced;' that their 'lives, liberties, and estates,' were thereby placed in jeopardy; and that the terms of the oaths required of them, were expounded according to the will of those who imposed them, 'and not according to a due and unbowed rule of law, which is the true interpreter of all oaths to all men, whether judge or judged.' They complain further of the hardship of that enactment, which made secular privileges dependent upon their arbitrary rules of Church-membership. Hence, many, they say, were not only 'debarred from all civil imployment,' who were 'well qualified,' but were not permitted 'so much as to have any vote in choosing magistrates, captains, or

Exposed in a Pamphlet 'New England's Jonas,' &c.

other civil and military officers; notwithstanding they have here expended their youth, borne the burthen of the day, wasted much of their estates for the subsistence of these poor plantations, and paid all assessments, taxes, rates, at least equal to, if not exceeding others.' Again, they assert that there were 'divers sober, righteous, and godly men, eminent for knowledge, and other gracious gifts of the Holy Spirit, no ways scandalous in their lives and conversations, members of the Churches of England,' who were not only 'detained from the seals of the covenant of free grace,' but 'compelled, under a severe fine, every Lord's-day to appeare at the congregation, and in some places forced to contribute to the maintenance of those ministers who vouchsafe not to take them into their flock;' that they were 'not accounted so much as brethren, nor publickely so called; nor was Christian vigilance (commanded to all) any way exercised to them.' Hence, the Petitioners declared their belief, that 'an ocean of inconveniences' abounded; 'dishonour to God and his ordinances, little profit by the ministery, increase of Anabaptism, and of those that totally contemn all ordinances as vain, fading of Christian graces, decrease of brotherly love, heresies, schisms[31],' &c.

Cruelties practised against Quakers.

The Quakers in New England were treated with shameful cruelty. The law of banishment, passed in 1652, against what was called that 'cursed sect,' was followed by another, in 1657, which provided that the offending Quaker, should,

'for the first offence, if a male,' have 'one of his ears cut off, and

[31] New England's Jonas, &c. 8—12.

be kept at work in the House of Correction 'till he could be sent away on his own charges; and, for the second offence, his other ear should be cut off, and be kept in the House of Correction as aforesaid;' and, if a woman, then to be severely whipt, and kept as aforesaid as the male for the first offence; and, for the second, she should be alike used as aforesaid; and for every Quaker, he or she, that should a third time offend, they should have their tongues bored through with an hot iron, and be kept at the House of Correction to work 'till they be sent away at their own charge.'

Such severities only made those against whom they were enforced more resolute in suffering them. They would rather remain in prison, than pay the fees required of them, after the period of imprisonment had expired. On one occasion, when Harris, a Quaker from Barbados, and two women, who had been imprisoned at Boston, in 1658, for disturbing the public worship, manifested a more than common obstinacy, the gaoler, in despair, consulted the magistrates, who ordered him 'to whip them twice a week if they would not work, and the first time to add five stripes to the former ten, and each time after to add three more.' But Neal confesses that they were not to be tamed by these methods; and that, after one of them had been almost whipt to death, in consequence of this order, the party was dismissed upon the payment of the charges by their friends. In the same year, a law was passed, condemning Quakers to death, by a voice of the majority, without even the intervention of a trial by jury. In consequence of the opposition expressed against such excessive tyranny, the trial by jury was afterwards allowed. Soon afterwards, four Quakers, three men and a woman, were actually condemned to death, and hanged in Boston, by virtue of this law. The clamour excited hereby, not only in America but Europe, against the govern-

ment of Massachusetts, led the magistrates to publish a declaration in defence of their conduct. It is given at length by Neal; and the weakness of its reasoning must therefore be exposed, as long as his History of New England shall be remembered. He is forced to confess that such conduct 'sullied the glory of their former sufferings from the Bishops; for now it appeared that the New England Puritans were no better friends to liberty of conscience than their adversaries; and that the question between them was not, whether one party of Christians should have power to oppress another, but who should have that power.'

Prohibited by order of Charles II.

With the Restoration, came a respite from such atrocious severities in New England; and an order was issued, Sept. 9, 1661, to Governor Endicott, by Charles II., forbidding him to proceed any further in any proceedings against Quakers, whether condemned or imprisoned; and commanding him to send them to England, together with the charges laid against them, to the end that such course might be taken with them there, 'as should be agreeable to the English laws[32].'

Address to that King.

An Address from Massachusetts to Charles was even then on its way to England, which could leave no doubt that the above order would be promptly obeyed. Indeed, the only subject of astonishment is, that men who put their hands to such an Address, if they really intended all that it imports, should have hesitated to obey any mandate which proceeded from their Sovereign. I subjoin the Address, in the form in which I have

[32] Neal, i. 296. 303. 306—312. 316.

copied it from the original MS. in the State Paper Office, as a sample of the train of thought and language prevalent in that day.

'To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the Second, by the grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of y^e^ Faith, &c.

'Illustrious Sir,

'That Majesty and Benignity both sat upon [the] Throne, whereunto your Outcast made their former Address, Witness this second Eucharistical approach unto the best of Kings, who to other titles of Royalty common to him with other Gods amongst men, delighteth herein more peculiarly to conforme himselfe to the God of Gods, in that hee hath not despised nor abhorred y^e^ affliction of the afflicted, neither hath hee hid his face from him, but when hee cryed hee heard.

'Our Petition was the representation of an Exile's necessitys, this script, gratulatory and lowly, is the reflexion of the gracious rays of Christian Majesty. There wee besought your favor by presenting to a compassionate eye that bottle full of tears shed by us in this Jeshimon, here wee alsoe acknowledge the efficacy of Regal influence to qualify these salt waters. The mission of ours was accompany'd with these Churches sitting in sackcloth. The reception of yours was y^e^ holding forth of the scepter of life.

'Wee are deeply sensible of your Majestie's intimation relating to Instruments of Satan acted by impulse diabolical. Venner (not to say whence hee came to us) went out from us, because hee was not of us. God preserve your Ma^ty^ from all emissaries agitated by an infernall spirit under what appellation soever disguised. Luther sometimes wrote to the Senate of Mulhoyson to beware of the wolfe Munster.

'Royal Sir, Your just title to the Crown enthronizeth you in our consciences; your graciousness in our affections: that inspireth unto Duty, this naturalizeth unto Loyalty: thence wee call you Lord, hence a Saviour. Mephibosheth [33], how prejudicialy soever mis-

[33] By this term the Court of Massachusetts had designated the Colony, in the first address which they sent to Charles the Second, intimating thereby that its condition was as much to be pitied as that of the lame son of Jonathan. 2 Sam. iv. 4.

represented, yet rejoiceth that the King is come in peace to his owne house. Now the Lord hath dealt well with our Lord the King, may New England under your Royal protection bee permitted still to sing the Lord's song in this strange land. It shall bee noe griefe of heart for the blessing of a people ready to perish dayly to come upon your Ma^ty^, the blessing of your poor people, who (not here to allege the innocency of our cause, touching which let us live noe longer than wee subject ourselves to an orderly tryal thereof) though in the particulars of subscription and conformity supposed to bee under the hallucinations of weak brethren; yet crave leave, with all humility, to say whether the voluntary quitting of our native and dearest Country bee not sufficient to expiate soe innocent a mistake (if a mistake) let God, Angels, y^r^ Maj^ty^, and all good men judge.

'Now hee in whose hands the times and Tryals of the Children of men are, who hath made your Ma^ty^ remarkably parallell to the most eminent of Kings, both for the space and kind of your troubles, soe as that very day cannot bee excepted wherein they drove him from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, saying goe serve other Gods, make you alsoe (which is the Crown of all) more and more like unto him, in being a man after God's own heart to doe whatsoever hee will. Yea, as the Lord was with David, soe let him bee with your most excellent Majesty, and make the throne of King Charles the Second both greater and better than the throne of king David, or than the Throne of your Royal Progenitors. Soe shall always pray,

'Great Sir,

'Your Maj^ties^ most humble and loyal subjects,

'Jo. Endicott, Gov^r^,

in the name and by y^e^ order of y^e^ General Court of Massachusetts, in New England.

'August 7, 1661.'

Language such as this, proceeding from a people who had refused to admit those claims of the Long Parliament, which they thought trenched, or were likely to trench, upon the privileges of the Royal Charter already conferred upon them; and who had therefore claimed, and obtained, from that body free-

dom from its jurisdiction[34], might certainly have justified Charles and his counsellors in looking for more than a formal acknowledgment of his authority from his subjects in New England. Bancroft, indeed, would fain escape from the charge of Oriental adulation, brought against similar Addresses made to Charles and his Parliament, in the year of the Restoration, by alleging, that, whilst their hyperbolical language was borrowed from the manners of the East, which the study of the Hebrew Scriptures made so familiar to the inhabitants of Massachusetts, the spirit which they breathed is republican. This defence, I think, cannot be admitted as valid, even if the facts upon which it professes to rest were such as they are said to have been; since familiarity with the language of the Inspired Volume ought never to be made a screen to hide the contradiction between words and the sentiments which they are intended to convey. But, in the case of the second Address, of which a copy is given above, even this excuse must be wanting[35]; for, how can the spirit of republicanism, in any sense, be said with truth to animate men, who openly acknowledge that the King's 'just title to the Crown enthronizeth' him in their 'consciences,' and his 'graciousness in' their 'affections?'

Relations with European powers in North America.

Before I close this chapter, it may be convenient to note the possessions of other European powers during this period

[34] Bancroft, i. 440—443.

[35] Ib. ii. 71. I have not yet been able to find the second Address, of which a copy is given above, in any of the Volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Society, although it is in Hazard, ii. 593. I have therefore been the more anxious to call attention to it here.

in North America, and the consequences resulting therefrom to our own Colonies. during this period. The circumstances, under which the first settlements made in Acadie and Canada by the French, and by the Dutch in Manhattan Island, during the reign of James I., and the collisions which then ensued between them and the English, have already been described in my first Volume. Their consequences were seen in the renewal of hostilities in the early years of Charles I., in the same regions. Both the French settlements of Port Royal and Quebec fell into the hands of the English commanders who were then ordered to attack them; but these, and the extensive provinces to which they severally belonged, were, through the dexterous policy of Richelieu, restored to France under the treaty of 1632[36].

The Dutch, having been led, in 1610, by the genius and enterprise of Hudson, to the entrance of the noble river which has ever since borne his name, conferred, a few years afterwards, upon the Amsterdam branch of their West India Company, an undefined portion of North America, to which they gave the name of the New Netherlands. In 1623, this territory was, to a certain degree, marked out by the discoveries made by their agents, and embraced the region from the south shore of Delaware Bay, to the extent of nearly five degrees northward, and along the western shore of the river Hudson. The permanent settlement of New York, then called New Amsterdam, of which the foundations had been before laid upon Manhattan Island, is assigned to this period. The proverbial industry and perseverance of these

[36] Ibid. i. 334; Chalmers, 93.

new settlers upon the American continent, soon gained further increase of territory and power. And, notwithstanding the serious checks which they received in their progress from various Indian tribes, and the many intrusions which disturbed them, as they drew near to the province of Connecticut, from the emigrants of England and Massachusetts, who were gathering rapidly upon those shores, the Dutch still held on their course.

Other competitors from Europe, at the same time, started up against them, but without any permanent success, upon the opposite quarter to Connecticut. In 1638, a band of emigrants from Sweden and Finland, established themselves in Delaware Bay, upon land which they purchased from the natives, on the south-west border of the New Netherlands. Spreading themselves on the western bank of Delaware river, over the province now called Pennsylvania, they gave to it the name of New Sweden. But the power of their Dutch neighbours was too great for them. The help, which the Swedes might have received from home, had the energy and wisdom of Gustavus and Oxenstiern, still survived to keep their European rivals in awe, was no longer theirs; and, in little more than seventeen years from its commencement, the Colony of New Sweden surrendered to Stuyvesant, the Dutch Governor[37].

From these events grew up those jealousies and disagreements which, in a few years afterwards, led to more serious results, and made the provinces of the North American continent an arena for the repeated conflicts of European nations.

[37] Ib. ii. 271—297.

CHAPTER XV.

CONDITION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AT HOME, UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH AND CHARLES II.

A.D. 1648-9—1685-6.

The Commonwealth.

In noting the events which occurred in England, during and after the period reviewed in the preceding chapters, we need only trace so much of their general outline and character as may help us to perceive their influence upon the future destinies of the Church in her Colonies. The Church at home had been laid prostrate, before Charles I. fell; her sanctuaries were mutilated, and laid waste; the vessels, used in her holy services, polluted; her revenues, plundered; her ritual, abolished; her Clergy, scattered abroad. The Presbyterians, foremost in working this ruin, had themselves been put down by a power stronger than their own. The Independents, whom they had refused to tolerate, had gained, by audacity and cunning, the privileges which had been denied them as a boon; but it was only to see themselves, in their turn, thrust aside by Cromwell and by the army at his back. A remnant of the Long Parliament, indeed, still lingered on; and the reports of Cromwell's military triumphs were dispatched by

him to that body as its delegated officer; but the real authority was all his own. This he soon proved it to be. For no sooner were the cruel butcheries, which marked his campaign, in Ireland, in 1649, followed, in the next year, by his victory at Dunbar, over the adherents of the second Charles, there vainly struggling for the restoration of his rights,—and that victory itself succeeded, the same day twelvemonth (Sept. 3, 1651), by the final overthrow of the Royalist army at Worcester,—than Cromwell returned, brooding over ambitious schemes for the strengthening of his power, and impatient for the dissolution of Parliament.

Dissolution of the Long Parliament.

Its members still clung to life, but in vain. The prowess of the British fleets, displayed, first, in the reduction of the distant Colonies of the West, and, yet more conspicuously afterwards, by victories nearer home over the formidable armaments of the Dutch, yielded neither security nor honour to the Legislature, under whose auspices these and other national distinctions were acquired. The day soon came, in which, having marshalled his armed soldiers in the lobby of the House of Commons, Cromwell stood up, and pronounced, with bitter reproaches, the sentence of expulsion against its members; and, the Speaker, having been brought down from his chair, and the 'bauble' emblem of his authority taken away, the doors of the emptied house were commanded to be closed; and the Long Parliament was dismissed. The Assembly of Divines, also, which had been long dwindling into insignificance, ceased in the same year (1653) to exist [1].

[1] Collier, viii. 390.

The work of the usurper was thus far complete. But much more remained to be done. The suspicious fears of some of his supporters, both in the army and out of it, were to be allayed; the indignant remonstrances of others were to be answered; one party was to be cajoled; another bribed; a third terrified; and, with all this, the semblance of a Republic was to be maintained, and the course of legislation to be conducted through a Commons House of Parliament. And Cromwell achieved this: sometimes, indeed, not affecting to conceal his desire to magnify the kingly power which he possessed, by the name and ensigns of a King; at other times, dissolving Parliaments as arbitrarily as he had convened them. Thus, his strange selection, soon after the dissolution of the Long Parliament, of another assembly of political and religious fanatics, known by the name of the Barebones, or Little Parliament, was followed, after a few months' existence, by their forced surrender into his hands of the power which he had given to them; and this proceeding was, in its turn, immediately succeeded by the appointment of the Council of Officers, who solemnly invested Cromwell with the dignity of Protector. The Instrument of government, indeed, under which he was to discharge the duties of Protector, provided that a Parliament was to be called by him every three years; and that none was to be dissolved, until it had sat five months. But the writs, issued for the summoning of the first Parliament under this Instrument, expressly excluded all persons, or their sons, who had borne arms for the King. Through another contrivance, some of the most noted Republicans were likewise

And contemptuous treatment of others by Cromwell.

excluded; and, even then, a Declaration, engaging those who signed it to a blind allegiance to Cromwell's authority, was afterwards resorted to, for the purpose of driving more members out of the House, and making the rest more tractable. But, all in vain. Cromwell was still dissatisfied; and, before the prescribed period of five months had elapsed, summoned the members, with the Speaker at their head, to the Painted Chamber; and, addressing them in a strain of invective, which none but he could have uttered, pronounced their dissolution.

Severities against the Royalists and Clergy.

Then followed the outbreak of resentful feelings on the part of the oppressed. By Republicans, as well as Royalists, such feelings were speedily manifested; but the might of the Protector was mightier than theirs; and with ruthless hand did he exert it. His Republican opponents, indeed, he was content only to conquer; they were dragged neither to the scaffold, nor to the dungeon. But to the Royalists no such clemency was shown. Death was inflicted upon some, by the gibbet, or by the axe; others were made to share, as we have seen, in Barbados and other foreign Plantations, that cruel exile and slavery to which many, who had escaped the sword of Cromwell at Drogheda and Worcester, had already been consigned; and those who were allowed to remain in England, had to endure every variety of ignominious restraint. Against the Clergy of the Church of England, already robbed of their incomes, and driven from their Parishes, the decree was further issued, and enforced with severest penalties, that they should neither exercise in any shape the office of teacher, nor preach, nor use, in public or in private, the services

of that Church of which they were ordained ministers. An assurance, indeed, was given at the close of this decree (Oct. 4, 1655), 'that, if any persons, since their ejection or sequestration, have given, or shall hereafter give, a real testimony of their godliness and good affection to the government' then existing, 'so much tenderness shall be used, as may consist with the safety and good of the nation.' And Burnet relates, that Cromwell had 'begun in his latter years to be gentler towards those of the Church of England;' and that 'they had their meetings in several places about London without any disturbance from him[2].'

Archbishop Usher.

Archbishop Usher also may be cited as a witness to the same effect; for Cromwell sent for him, treated him 'with great outward kindness and civility, and consulted him upon certain plans which he was then designing for the advancement of the Protestant interest at home and abroad.' Yet, if the character of Usher's interviews with the Protector be more closely examined, it will appear that any show of favour, which may have been exhibited towards the sequestered Clergy, was regulated solely by motives of state policy. Usher was at this period Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, having been elected to that office, in 1647, after his deprivation of the authority and property which had belonged to him as Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland.

'During most of which sad times,' his friend and biographer, Dr. Parr, relates, that he 'kept close to his study and charge at Lincoln's Inn, utterly disowning those usurpers and their wicked actions; and still comforting the loyal party (then sufferers), that

[2] Harleian Miscellany, v. 249; Burnet's Own Times, i. 125.

this usurpation would quickly expire, and that the King (whose right it was) would return unto his throne, though he himself should not live to see it.'

When those severities, therefore, to which I have referred above, were renewed against the Clergy, in 1655, in consequence of the dangers apprehended from the returning strength of the Royalists, some of their chief members entreated Usher to intercede for them with Cromwell, and to obtain at least the same privileges which were extended to other religious bodies. Usher complied with their request; obtained an interview with Cromwell; and, with some difficulty, received a promise of their relief, provided that the Clergy refrained from meddling with his government. Upon going a second time, to obtain this promise in writing, he found Cromwell under the hands of his surgeon, who was dressing a boil upon his breast; and, being desired to sit down, Cromwell observed to him, that, if the core of the boil were out, all would be quickly well. 'I doubt the core lies deeper,' replied the Primate; 'there is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well.' 'Ah!' said Cromwell, 'so there is indeed;' and sighed. As soon as the object of Usher's visit came to be discussed, Cromwell said, that, having advised with his Council upon it, he found that the promised indulgence could not be granted; and so, civilly dismissed him. Usher went home to his chambers with a heavy heart; and said to Parr and some relations who came to visit him there,

'This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he hath promised. Well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long; the King will return; though I shall not live to see it, you may. The Go-

vernment, both in Church and State, is in confusion; the Papists are advancing their projects, and making such advantages as will hardly be prevented [3].'

These were not the only severities exercised under the Protectorate. Roman Catholic priests were ordered, under pain of death, to quit the kingdom; and the lay-members of their communion, as well as all to whom the name of Cavalier was attached, were forbidden to come within twenty miles of the metropolis. To crown the whole, an ordinance was published, exacting the payment of the tenth part of all estates which exceeded 100*l.* a year, from those who had ever sided with the King during the late wars: an act of tyranny, which lost none of its gross cruelty and injustice, through the manner in which it was enforced by the eleven major-generals among whom Cromwell had divided the whole country, for the purpose of making his mastery complete [4].

The Vaudois assisted.

At this stage of Cromwell's power, its greatness was as much felt by rival nations abroad as by his countrymen at home. The conclusion of a peace with Holland, and the com-

[3] Parr's Life of Usher, 72—76. Usher died a few months afterwards at Reigate: and Cromwell paid to his remains the honour of a public funeral in Westminster Abbey.

[4] Hallam justly describes this state of things as 'a despotism, compared to which all the illegal practices of former Kings, all that had cost Charles his life and crown, appeared as dust in the balance. For what was ship-money, a general burthen, by the side of the present decimation of a single class, whose offence had long been expiated by a composition and effaced by an act of indemnity? or were the excessive punishments of the star chamber so odious as the capital executions inflicted without trial by peers, whenever it suited the usurper to erect his high court of justice?' Const. Hist. ii. 341.

mencement of a war with Spain, alike enabled him to enlarge the field of those distant enterprises in the West and in the East, of which an account has been given in a preceding chapter. And the protection, which he showed himself ready to extend, in the following year, 1656, to the Vaudois, amid the trials which they suffered at the hands of the Duke of Savoy, made even the proud Louis of France intercede earnestly with the Duke, that he would renew to those persecuted Protestants of Piedmont their ancient privileges, and grant them an amnesty of all the offences with which they had been charged [5].

But, whilst Cromwell was thus swaying the destinies of foreign nations, the necessities of his own exchequer compelled him to convene another Parliament. And, in this, as in the former Parliaments, his determination to make all things bend to his own will was unscrupulously exerted. Nearly a hundred members who had been returned were prevented from taking their seats, upon alleged charges of delinquency brought against them by the Council; and, in spite of the remonstrance of the excluded members, a majority of the House was base enough to submit to such tyranny.

Punishment of Naylor.

It was a distinction worthy of being reserved for such an assembly, that they should have had solemnly confided to their consideration the mode in which James Naylor, a disciple of George Fox, the celebrated founder of the Quakers, was to be dealt with, for his alleged disturbances against the public peace. The Committee, before

[5] Lingard, xi. 261—267. See the Letter written by Milton, in Cromwell's name, to the Duke of Savoy. Prose Works, ii. 689, fol. ed., and his yet more celebrated sonnet upon the same subject.

whom he was examined, pronounced him guilty of blasphemy; and, after a debate of eleven days, the House saved him, by a narrow majority, from the sentence of death, only that he might be scourged with repeated lashings, stand twice in the pillory, be branded in his forehead, have his tongue bored through with a hot iron, be paraded through the streets on the bare back of a horse with his face to the tail, and then be cast into a solitary prison. It was meet also that this same Parliament, scared by a message of the Protector, calling upon them to explain the grounds of the judicial power thus assumed in the case of Naylor, should afterwards have adopted the project of urging upon Cromwell the title of King; and, that measure failing at the last, not from any lack of inclination on his part or theirs, but from the sturdy opposition of his own officers, should then have renewed to him, with augmented powers, the office of Protector, and confirmed it by the imposing ceremonies of a second inauguration[6].

Project to make Cromwell king.

Cromwell is said to have designed at this time a Council for the avowed purpose of extending and upholding the Protestant religion throughout the world. Burnet relates it upon the authority of Stoupe, who told him that Cromwell intended that this Council should act as a counterpoise to the congregation *de propagandâ fide* at Rome; and that its establishment was to have been the first act of his Kingly office, had he assumed it. It was to

His design in furtherance of the Protestant religion.

'consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries, for different

[6] Lingard, xi. 295, 296. Hallam's Const. Hist. ii. 350, 351.

provinces. These were the first, France, Switzerland, and the Valleys: the Palatinate and the other Calvinists were the second: Germany, the North, and Turkey were the third: and the East and West Indies were the fourth. The secretaries were to have £500 salary a piece, and to keep a correspondence every where, to know the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs might be by their means protected and assisted. They were to have a fund of £10,000 a year at their disposal for ordinary emergencies, but to be further supplied as occasions should require it. Chelsea College was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building[7].'

How far Cromwell had matured this design, or prepared the way for commencing the operations connected with it, there are no means now left to determine. But the bare entertainment of such a project was a noble thought. Let the rulers of our Church consider if it be not their duty now to look abroad upon the vast possessions of our Colonial empire with the same high and comprehensive purposes, and strive, with God's help, to carry them onward to a glorious issue.

In the Articles of the Act, which invested Cromwell with the ampler prerogatives now secured to him, was one which provided that the Parliament, which was to be called once in a year at farthest, should consist of two Houses. A direct approximation was herein made to the ancient form of the British constitution, and openly avowed in the second session of the new Parliament, 1657-8, by the title, which 'the other House' then assumed to itself, of the House of Lords. But the House of Commons, having, at the same time, received into the number of its members those who had been excluded in the former Parliament, and who were now protected, by the above Act,

[7] Burnet's Own Times, i. 141.

from liability to the same exclusion, refused to acknowledge the assumed privileges and titles of this newly-fashioned branch of the Legislature. The disputes and difficulties arising out of this state of things, it was impossible to remove or mitigate by any of the ordinary modes of proceeding. But Cromwell settled them in his own way; and, going suddenly to the House, and charging the Commons with being the cause of all the dangers which then threatened the country, pronounced the dissolution of both assemblies [8].

His death.

But he, who had thus the boldness and the energy to break down, for the fourth time, the authority of Parliaments, could neither repress the secret nor open machinations of the enemies whom his despotic acts goaded to resistance, nor the daily and nightly terrors with which the apprehension of their vengeance haunted him. It availed not that the foremost potentates of Europe, in the eagerness with which they paid court to him, bore homage to the ability and success which distinguished his foreign policy. At the moment in which their desire to propitiate his favour was the greatest, and Dunkirk, which he had been striving for two years to obtain, was placed in his hands by the French monarch, Cromwell was the most sorely agitated by public cares, by domestic sorrows, and by the dread of the assassin's steel. And, amid the severest onset of such trials, his earthly career closed, on the 3rd of September, 1658.

And character.

So passed away one of the most extraordinary men of that, or of any other,

[8] Hallam, Const. Hist. ii. 353.

age: one, whose spirit was kindled with an ardour of religious zeal, the sincerity of which it seems impiety to question, and yet capable of a dissimulation which none but the practised hypocrite could sustain; who manifested his love of justice, by the vindication of right and the correction of wrong, and yet trampled under foot the most sacred prerogatives, with the energy of a capricious tyrant; who lifted up his country amid the nations of the civilised world, by selecting, throughout every department of public enterprise, the man fitted for the office, and not the office for the man, and yet, again, depressed her to the dust, by delivering her into the hands of arbitrary and cruel agents; who cherished the tenderest affections of domestic love within his heart, as pure as though the flame of worldly passion had never scorched it[9], and yet could look, unmoved, upon the most appalling scenes of tumult, and plunder, and death. I attempt not to analyse the process by which qualities so conflicting could meet together in the same man. They, who see in him the operation only of the one class, will exhibit in his portrait the most hideous features which can be depicted of human wickedness, unredeemed by a single virtue; whilst they, who keep their attention fixed only upon the other, will, in the extravagance of their hero-worship, describe his career as one 'bathed in the eternal splendours[10].'

State of religion in England during the republic.

Leaving to others the well-nigh hopeless task of adjusting the balance between parties so opposite, I pass on to remark the influences which were brought to bear

[9] See Cromwell's Letters lately published by Carlyle.

[10] Ib. ii. 8.

upon the scattered and oppressed members of our Church, and those of other religious bodies, during the period now under review. They affected powerfully the national character, at home and abroad, in the day which first saw them come into operation: they still affect it, in our own. Foremost among them was the variety of discordant opinions, and the consequent multiplication of religious sects, which, commencing with the troubled preludes of the Civil War, increased with frightful rapidity amid all the changes that followed. The proceedings already described of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines, were the chief causes of this confusion. Indeed, the historian of the Puritans himself admits that 'it was undoubtedly a capital mistake in the proceedings of Parliament, to destroy one building before they were agreed upon another;' that 'the ancient order of worship and discipline in the Church of England was set aside above twelve months before any other form was appointed: during which time, no wonder sects and divisions arrived to such a pitch that it was not in their power afterward to destroy them [11].'

Described in Edwards's Gangræna.

What those sects and divisions were, and how grievous was the ruin which directly and palpably resulted from their continuance, may be best learnt from the words of one, whose testimony upon this point is above all suspicion,—Edwards, author of the 'Gangræna.' He had thrown himself, heart and soul, into the ranks of the Parliamentary party, from the outset; and had done and suffered, both in purse and person, in the pulpit and in the field, more than most of their ad-

[11] Neal's History of the Puritans, ii. 271.

herents. He acknowledges himself, in the first part of his work, to be a Presbyterian; and, in the dedication of it to Parliament, towards the end of the reign of Charles I., thus describes the confusion into which the whole country was plunged:

'Things every day grow worse and worse; you can hardly imagine them so bad as they are. No kind of blasphemy, heresy, disorder, and confusion, but it is found among us, or coming in upon us. For we, instead of reformation, are grown from one extreme to another; fallen from Scylla to Charybdis; from popish innovations, superstitions, and prelatical tyranny, to damnable heresies, horrid blasphemies, libertinism, and fearful anarchy. Our evils are not removed and cured, but only changed: one disease and devil hath left us, and another as bad is come into the room. You have broken down the images of the Trinity, Virgin Mary, Apostles; and we have those who overthrow the doctrine of the Trinity, oppose the divinity of Christ, speak evil of the Virgin Mary, and slight the Apostles. You have cast out the bishops and their officers, and we have many that cast down to the ground all ministers in all their reformed churches: you have cast out ceremonies in the sacraments, as the cross, kneeling at the Lord's Supper; and we have many who cast out the sacraments of baptism, and the Lord's Supper: you have put down Saints'-days; and we have many who make nothing at all of the Lord's-day and fast-days: you have taken away the superfluous, excessive maintenance of bishops and deans; and we have many that take away and cry down the necessary maintenance of ministers. In the bishops'-days we had singing of Psalms taken away in some places, conceived prayer and preaching, and, in their room, anthems, stinted forms, and reading, brought in; and now we have singing of Psalms spoken against, and cast out of some churches; yea, all public prayer questioned, and all ministerial preaching denied. In the bishops'-days we had many unlearned ministers; and have we not now a company of Jeroboam's priests? In the bishops'-days we had the fourth commandment taken away, but now we have all the ten commandments at once, by the Antinomians; yea, all the faith and the Gospel denied. The worst of the prelates, in the midst of many popish, Arminian tenets, and popish innovations, held many sound doctrines, and had many commendable practices; yea, the very

papists hold and keep to many articles of faith and truths of God, have some order amongst them, encourage learning, have certain fixed principles of truth, with practices of devotion and good works; but many of the sects and sectaries in our days deny all principle of religion, are enemies to all holy duties, order, learning, overthrowing all; being '*vertiginosi spiritus*,' whirligig spirits. What swarms are there of all sorts of illiterate mechanic preachers; yea, of women and boy preachers: what liberty of preaching, printing of all errors, or for a toleration of all, and against the Directory, Covenant, monthly fast, Presbyterial government, and all ordinances of Parliament in reference to religion?' The writer of the above dedication, enumerates, in another part of his work, no less than a hundred and seventy-six heretical and blasphemous tenets, which were the growth of that period; and speaks of some of them as 'strange monsters, having their heads of Enthusiasme, their bodies of Antinomianisme, their thighs of Familisme, their legs and feet of Anabaptisme, their hands of Arminianisme, and Libertinisme is the great vein running thorow the whole[12].'

In the third part of his Gangræna, he points out the way in which he proposed to deal with all these monstrous evils, namely, by persecuting them with unsparing hand:

'A toleration,' he says, 'is the grand design of the devil, his masterpiece and chief engine he works by at this time to uphold his tottering kingdome; the most compendious, ready, sure way to destroy all religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evill; a most transcendant, catholique, and fundamental evill for this Kingdom of any that can be imagined. As originall sin is the most fundamentall sin, all sin; having the seed and spawn of all in it, so a toleration hath all errors in it, and all evills; it is against the whole streame and current of Scripture both in the Old and New Testament, both in matters of faith and manners, both generall and par-

[12] Edwards's Gangræna, 16. The publication of this pamphlet, in 1645, drew down a tempest of indignation upon its author; and, to meet the sundry enemies by whom he was assailed, he published, in the next year, two more parts, which are chiefly remarkable for the host of witnesses cited by him to prove the correctness of his first statements.

ticular commands; it overthrows all relations, both politicall, ecclesiasticall, and œconomicall; and whereas other evills, whether errors of judgment or practice, be but against some one or few places of Scripture or relations, this is against all; this is the Abaddon, Apollyon, the destroyer of all religion, the abomination of desolation and astonishment, the libertie of perdition (as Austine calls it), and therefore the devil follows it night and day, working mightily in many by writing books for it, and other wayes, all the devils in hell and their instruments being at work to promote a toleration.' And, again, 'O let the ministers therefore oppose toleration as being that by which the devil would at once lay a foundation for his kingdom to all generations, witnesse against it in all places, possesse the magistrates of the evil of it, yea, and the people too, showing them how, if a toleration were granted, they should never have peace in their families more, or ever after have command of wives, children, servants; but they and their posterities after them are like to live in discontent and unquietnesse of mind all their days [13].'

By Milton.

It is not only in the revolting pages of Edwards, that we see a representation of the evils which now came in like a flood upon unhappy England. Milton has described others hardly less ruinous, in his Account of the Assembly of Divines, a specimen of which has already been laid before the reader. A similar expression of his indignant feelings occurs in his 12th Sonnet, where he describes the Presbyterian censors of some of his treatises, as men

> 'That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
> And still revolt when truth would set them free.
> Licence they mean, when they cry Liberty.'

Again, in his 16th Sonnet, addressed to Cromwell, in 1652, after sounding the loud praises of 'Dunbar

[13] Ib. 121. 156.

field, and Worcester's laureat wreath,' his words are,

> 'Yet much remains
> To conquer still; Peace hath her victories,
> No less renown'd than War: New foes arise
> Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains:
> Help us to save free conscience from the paw
> Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.'

Verily, the cry for help against 'hireling wolves,' which Milton here lifted up, was not without a cause; for, as long as Presbyterianism could maintain its ground, it ruled with a rod of iron. It was chiefly with a view to excite the authorities to the most rigorous exercise of persecuting zeal, that Edwards published his 'Gangræna.' And another work which he wrote afterwards, showed, by its very title, 'Casting down of the last and strongest hold of Satan, or a Treatise against Toleration,' that he continued ready to smite down to the dust every opponent.

Other celebrated Divines, too, of the Presbyterian communion, Calamy and Burgess, in their discourses before Parliament, spoke of toleration only to condemn it, designating it 'as the hydra of schisms and heresies, and the floodgate to all manner of iniquity and danger,' and calling upon the Civil powers always to put it down[14]. The noxious germ from which sprang these bitter fruits of spiritual despotism, and which remains to this day unaltered, is to be found, I believe, in one of the grave and deliberate answers drawn up by the Assembly of Divines in their Larger Catechism; that which declares the toleration of a

[14] Crosby's History of the Baptists, quoted in Orme's Life of Owen.

false religion to be one of the sins forbidden in the second commandment[15]. The impulses of passion and misdirected zeal were herein supported by an authority which gave a formal sanction to the wildest acts of outrage; and heavenly truth was degraded by the abuses committed in her name.

By Baxter.

I cite one witness more, Richard Baxter, to prove the evils now existing. His affection for the Presbyterians would never have allowed him to bear willingly his testimony against them. Yet he is constrained to admit that some of the more rigid of them grasped

'at a kind of secular power; not using it themselves, but binding the magistrates to confiscate or imprison men, merely because they were excommunicate; and so corrupting the true discipline of the Church, and turning the communion of saints into the communion of the multitude, that must keep in the Church against their wills, for fear of being undone in the world.—They corrupt the discipline of the Church by mixing it with secular force; and they reproach the keys of ministerial power, as if it were not worth a straw unless the magistrate's sword enforce it;—and, worst of all, they corrupt the Church by forcing in the rabble of the unfit, and unwilling, and thereby tempt many godly Christians to schisms and dangerous separations.' And 'so little sensible,' he adds in another place, 'were the Presbyterian ministers of their own infirmities, that they would not agree to tolerate those who were not only tolerable, but worthy instruments and members in the Churches, prudent men, who were for union in things necessary, for liberty in things unnecessary, and for charity in all; but they could not be heard[16].'

The historian of the Puritans, in fact, quotes this last observation of Baxter, in corroboration of his own statement, that, through the intolerant spirit of

[15] Larger Catechism, Question 110.

[16] Baxter's Own Life, published by Sylvester, part ii. p. 142, 143.

the leading Presbyterians in the Assembly and city, who were 'enamoured with the charms of covenant uniformity and the divine right of their presbytery,' arose those stubborn and hot 'disputes between the army and parliament, which were the entire ruin of both[17].'

The conduct of the Independents.

It is the favourite subject of eulogy, indeed, with those who advocate the doctrines of the Independents, that toleration found its earliest and best supporters among the members of that body. And, certainly, the acknowledgment of the principle of toleration may be said with perfect truth to result as a legitimate conclusion from the theory which the Independents professed. By demanding that each separate congregation should be allowed the power of governing its own members, without any interference from without, it followed that each was bound to extend unto others the liberty which it claimed for itself. But,—not now to insist upon the obvious fact that such professed independence, on the part of the several congregations, both of each other and of one governing head, was calculated to produce, as they themselves allowed, most evil consequences[18],

[17] Neal's History of the Puritans, ii. 381.

[18] A remarkable passage to this effect occurs in 'A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England,' and agreed upon in their meeting at the Savoy, Oct. 12, 1658. Having stated that they had not 'held any correspondency together,' it goes on to say, 'we allege not this, as a matter of commendation in us; no, we acknowledge it to have been a great neglect:—we confess that, from the first, every, or at least the generality of our churches, have been, in a manner, like so many ships,—though holding forth the same general colours, launched singly, and sailing apart and alone on the vast ocean of these tumultuous times; and they [have been] exposed to "every

and is at variance with that uniformity of organization and harmony of communion which we believe to be essential characteristics of the 'one Catholick and Apostolick Church,'—the truth is that the Independents, generally, did, by their own rigorous acts, set at nought the principle which, according to their avowed theory, they ought to have held inviolate [19]. No stronger proof can be required of this than the instances already brought under our notice, of the system pursued by them whilst in power, both in England and America.

Jeremy Taylor's 'Liberty of Prophesying.'

But, let it not be forgotten, that, whilst the history of our nation at this period presents to our view little else, either at home or abroad, than continually varying scenes of oppression, the voice of a faithful presbyter, and afterwards Bishop, of our Church, was heard amid the angry uproar, pleading in terms of most persuasive argument for liberty and peace. I need scarcely say that I mean Jeremy Taylor. He rested his appeal,

wind of doctrine," under no other conduct than the Word and Spirit, and their particular Elders and principal Brethren, *without associations among ourselves, or so much as holding out common lights to others whereby to know where we were!*' Hanbury's Historical Memoirs of the Independents, iii. 523. The object of the Independents in holding this conference aroused many opponents, of whom Baxter was one of the most bitter and pertinacious. Orme's Life of Owen, 176—180.

[19] I have before referred to the generous conduct of Owen in the case of Pocock (see p. 124, *ante* and *note*) as an exception to that pursued by the great body of the Independents; and I revert to it here for the purpose of acknowledging another instance of the same spirit which he manifested, whilst Dean of Christ Church, in permitting a congregation of members of our Church to assemble near his house for Divine worship every Sunday, although they were not at that time tolerated by law. Orme's Life of Owen, 143.

not as did the Independents, upon the alleged ground that the Church was 'an aggregate of purely voluntary and independent combinations[20].' Such ground he believed to be untenable; and would have regarded any theory, which was made to depend upon it, as destructive of the real integrity of the Church. The 'Liberty of Prophesying,' for which he contended, he proved to be a necessary consequence of acknowledging the just authority which the Church derived from its Divine Head; and pressed the observance of it upon his countrymen at a time when they most needed its healing power. His words were treated with scorn by many; and Rutherford, the Presbyterian Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrew's, selected Taylor's work as one of the objects of his attack in a treatise, published by him in 1649, and bearing the ominous title of a 'Free Disputation against pretended Liberty of Conscience,' &c. Nevertheless, Taylor swerved not from his position. Orme, indeed, in his life of Owen, has insinuated that Taylor only urged such pleas, when his own Church was outwardly depressed, and that he evaded or forgot them afterwards. Such an insinuation is as false as it is ungenerous. The continued republication of his 'Liberty of Prophesying,' and the illustration of its chief positions by other like arguments and appeals put forth by him, even to the end of his earthly course, prove incontestably that his defence of toleration,

[20] Gladstone's State in its relations with the Church, ii. 227, 4th ed. The writer justly remarks, in the context of the above passage, that according to this theory of the Independents, 'it is much more wonderful that they should have retained any of the practice, than that they should have renounced or mistrusted the theory of persecution.'

maintained in that noble work, was held by Taylor to be a sacred duty of the Church, as sincerely, after she was restored to her outward dignities, as it had been in the hour of her deepest suffering[21]. Nay more, I believe, that, if the spirit in which Taylor designed and wrote this treatise, had been shared by the rulers of our Church after the Restoration, she would have been spared much of the reproach cast upon her by the acts then committed.

[21] For a complete refutation of the charges brought forward by Orme against Taylor, see Heber's life of the latter. Works, I. xxvii—xxxii. One statement, made by Heber in the above passage, needs correction; namely, that which affirms that Taylor's treatise 'is the first attempt on record to conciliate the minds of Christians to the reception of a doctrine which, though now the rule of action professed by all Christian sects, was then, by every sect alike, a perilous and portentous novelty.' It is among the first, no doubt, and will be remembered when others are forgotten; but yet it is not the first. For Sir James Mackintosh, in his History of the Revolution, p. 166, mentions a tract published in 1609, entitled 'a humble supplication for Salvation and Liberty to James I.;' and another tract entitled 'Religion's Peace: or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience,' was presented to James I. and the Parliament in his reign, 'by Leonard Busher, Citizen of London, and printed in 1614. Wherein is contained certain reasons against persecution for religion; also a design for a peaceable reconciling, of those that differ in opinion.' These tracts are very scarce, and, of course, were not known to Heber when he wrote the life of Taylor. The latter tract has since been republished by the Hanserd Knollys Society, in their first Volume. The difference between these tracts and the treatise of Taylor is, that, whilst the writers of them urge, doubtless, with great force of truth, certain claims of justice in their own defence, with respect to the rigorous treatment then observed towards Independents and Baptists, his argument is placed upon a much wider basis than that of any partial or temporary wrong; and he pursues it to its height with a composure and dignity of spirit which must at all times command our admiration and reverence.

Return of Presbyterian power.

It is necessary to a right understanding of the difficulties and divisions which followed the Restoration, that we should look for a moment to the return of Presbyterian ascendancy, which immediately preceded it. The Presbyterians had been willing that Richard Cromwell should succeed to the office possessed by his father: and yet, in a few months afterwards, they were among the first to welcome and promote the return of Charles to the throne of his ancestors. The main cause probably of such conduct upon their part was their continued exclusion from political power. The Long Parliament, dissolved by Cromwell in 1653, had been again summoned by his adherents after his death, in 1658. But the same hostility, which had been exhibited against the Presbyterians, by forcibly depriving them of their seats in that Parliament, before its original dissolution, was still operating; and they were not permitted to appear among the remnant of its members, who were now again convened, and called, in derision, the Rump Parliament. The Presbyterians, justly believing that the Independents and leaders of the army were the authors of this policy, and promoters of the anarchy which threatened speedily to overwhelm the nation, were eager to oppose them. And, accordingly, when Monk drew near at the head of his army from Scotland, and opened negotiations with them, they readily threw into his hands the great influence which they still possessed in the city of London. The remains of the Long Parliament had already, after a brief existence, been dispersed once more by Fleetwood and his brother officers; and Monk convened it a third time, in order that he might bring back into it those Presbyterian members who had been before ex-

cluded. The Presbyterians were now so superior in numbers, that the Independents at once withdrew [22]. Manton and other Presbyterian ministers were nominated to make trial of public ministers, according to the Directory. A Committee was appointed to prepare an Act, declaring the Confession of the Westminster Assembly of Divines to be 'the public confession of the Church of England.' The solemn League and Covenant was ordered to be reprinted, and set up in every Church in England, and read publicly by the minister once every year, and the chief places of profit, trust, and honour, as well as all the livings in England, passed into the hands of Presbyterian ministers. Having secured this ascendancy, it was agreed that the Parliament should dissolve itself, and that another should be summoned; and the new Parliament, which met, under the name of a Convention, April 25, 1660, was composed chiefly of the Presbyterian party [23].

The Restoration.

As the sympathies of the Presbyterians had now been, for some time, avowedly with the Royalists, the end which they both desired was speedily effected. A Letter and Declaration were sent to both Houses of Parliament, from the King at Breda, in which he expressed his hope that the re-establishment of their rights might lead to the restoration of his own, and described the course of justice and moderation which he intended to pursue, should he be again seated upon his throne. Upon the receipt of these, it was voted, 'that, according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this Kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons.'

[22] Rapin, xiii. 170—221.

[23] Neal, ut sup. iii. 13. Rapin, xiii. 241.

This was followed by votes of money to the King and his Royal brothers; by Addresses from the Army and Navy and the City of London, promising obedience to his commands; and by the public proclamation of his authority in several parts of the metropolis. The King speedily appeared in his own person; and, upon the 29th of May, the anniversary of his birth-day, returned, amid the joyful acclamations of his subjects, to his palace at Whitehall.

The King's Declarations.

The gladness of the exulting people was soon followed by disappointment and the renewal of strife. The contradiction between the words and acts of the restored monarch provoked them. In his Declaration from Breda, he had granted, 'upon the word of a King, a free and general pardon' to all his subjects who should by any public act declare their acceptance of this favour within forty days after its publication: 'those only excepted, who' should 'hereafter be excepted by Parliament.' And, further, he had said, in the same document:

'Because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation will be composed, or better understood; We do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom, and that We shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to Us, for the full granting of that indulgence.'

Their important statements touching the Church.

Charles issued another Declaration, touching ecclesiastical affairs, in the same year, in which he expresses his desire to adhere to all the promises contained in his

former Declaration, and describes the Presbyterian ministers, who had conferred with him at the Hague, as men 'full of affection to' him, 'of zeal for the peace of the Church and State, and neither enemies (as they have been given out to be) to Episcopacy or Liturgy, but modestly to desire such alterations in either, as, without shaking foundations, might best allay the present distempers.' After repeating 'the high esteem and affection' which he had 'for the Church of England, as it is established by law,' he recites the concessions which he was prepared to make, for the sake of peace; of which, some applied only to those who were in communion with our Church; others, to those who dissented from it. To the former, he promises that none should be preferred to the office and charge of Bishop 'but men of learning, virtue, and piety, who may be themselves the best examples to those who are to be governed by them;' that the wants of the larger Dioceses should be supplied by the appointment of Suffragan Bishops; that neither Bishops should 'ordain or exercise any part of jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the Church, without the advice and assistance of the Presbyters:' nor should 'the Archdeacon exercise any jurisdiction without the advice and assistance of six ministers, whereof three were to be nominated by the Bishop, and three chosen by the other Presbyters in the Archdeaconry;' that preferments in Cathedral Chapters should be bestowed only upon 'the most learned, pious, and discreet Presbyters;' and that a number of others, equal to those of whom the Chapter was composed, should be chosen annually out of the Presbyters of the Diocese, to advise and assist the Chapters in the counsel afforded by them to the Bishops 'in all ordinations, and in every

part of the jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the Church, and at all other solemn and important actions in the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, wherein any of the ministry are concerned.' Other provisions are added, for the better observance of the public ordinances of grace, the religious instruction of children, and the duties of Rural Deans and others appointed to act with them. After which follow the concessions which the King declares himself ready to grant to Nonconformists; and herein, having declared his conviction that 'the Liturgy of the Church of England contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by law established,' was 'the best' of 'all that are extant,' he promises to appoint an equal number of learned Divines of both persuasions to review the same, and 'to make such alterations as shall be thought most necessary.' In the mean time, he declares that none shall 'be punished or troubled for not using it, until it be reviewed;' that none who objected shall be compelled to the use of 'the Cross in Baptism,' or 'to bow at the name of Jesus,' or to wear the surplice, except only in the King's Chapel, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, and the Universities; and that, if men took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, they might proceed to their degrees in the Universities, and 'receive ordination, institution, and induction, and be permitted to exercise their function, and enjoy the profits of their livings,' without making 'the subscription required by the Canon,' or 'taking the oath of Canonical obedience[24].

[24] Rapin, xiii. 228—232; Collier, viii. 409—416. Neal, iii. 57—60.

The King's treatment of the Presbyterians.

The tenor of these Declarations of the King certainly supplied the Presbyterians with good ground for believing that all reasonable objections upon their part would be patiently and fairly examined, and that no severe measures would be taken against them for adhering to their honest opinions. This expectation was strengthened by marks of personal favour bestowed upon some of their most distinguished ministers. The King appointed ten of their number his Chaplains in Ordinary, among whom were Reynolds, Manton, Bates, Calamy, and Baxter. And, after several Bishops had been consecrated to fill up the places of those who had died, since the temporal overthrow of the Church in the Civil War, a few of the vacant Sees were still reserved for such of the leading Presbyterian Divines as should be willing to conform. Reynolds alone accepted the See of Norwich, upon the strength of the Declaration which has been cited above. Calamy declined that of Lichfield and Coventry, until the Declaration should have passed into a law. Baxter refused that of Hereford, upon other grounds. And, although Manton consented to be instituted by Bishop Sheldon to the Living of St. Paul, Covent Garden, he afterwards declined the Deanery of Rochester[25].

Their disappointment.

But the hopes of the Presbyterians were disappointed. The House of Commons, which had voted its thanks to the King for his

[25] Nine Bishops were still living at the Restoration, of whom Juxon, Bishop of London, was translated to Canterbury. Sheldon was consecrated his successor to the see of London. Collier, viii. 407; Neal, iii. 64.

Declaration, rejected, upon its second reading, the bill for making it law. This proceeding might reasonably have led the Presbyterians to doubt whether promises contained in the Declaration would be fulfilled; and, if the statement of Neal be correct, that Sir Matthew Hale, a strenuous supporter of the Declaration, was at this crisis taken out of the House of Commons, and appointed Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, in order that he might not thwart the wishes of the government, there was the more reason for viewing with mistrust the King's words.

Venner's insurrection.

Another reason, which operated against adhering to the peaceful and equitable professions which had been made, was the outbreak of Venner's insurrection. The mad fanaticism of him and his followers, claiming to be subjects of the fifth monarchy which Christ was then about to establish, personally and visibly, upon earth, had led to tumult, rebellion, and bloodshed; and compelled the government, in defence of the public peace, not only to proclaim most severe penalties against them and all religious sectaries whose opinions and acts seemed to be akin to theirs, but threw suspicion and reproach upon the whole body of Nonconformists, even those who, like the Presbyterians, disavowed the pernicious tenets of Venner[26].

Unyielding spirit of the Presbyterians.

A third cause, which helped to turn aside the current of generous and conciliatory feeling which had begun to flow, was the selfish and unyielding spirit of some of the leading Presbyterians. At the Hague, where several

[26] Neal, iii. 64—76.

of their Divines had been permitted to have private audiences with the King, before his return to England, they urged him not to revive the use of the Book of Common Prayer even in his own Chapel, and not to require of his Chaplains that they should wear the surplice. But the King, although he promised not to enquire too narrowly into any irregularities in the ministrations of Divine Worship which might exist elsewhere, firmly refused to suffer any other public devotions to be carried on in his own Chapel but those according to the Liturgy, which he believed to be the best in the world; and, with regard to the surplice, 'which had always been reckoned a decent habit, and constantly worn in the Church of England till these late ill times,' he declared that he would still retain it, refusing to 'be restrained himself, when others had so much indulgence.' Again, when the King's Declaration was read over by Clarendon to the Presbyterian Divines, Baxter objected to the toleration of Papists and Socinians.

Baxter's conduct.

Indeed, Baxter was ever forward in urging objections upon every subject and in every place. Neal describes him as 'the most active disputant' at the Savoy Conference, having 'a very metaphysical head and fertile invention, and one of the most ready men of his time for an argument, but too eager and tenacious of his own opinions[27].' And this description of Baxter applies not only to the part which he took in all debates upon the points of difference between our Church and his own communion, but to his conduct towards the Independents and others. Orme, for instance, relates that Baxter was the first to enter

[27] Collier, viii. 400 and 409; Neal, iii. 93.

into controversy with Owen, when the latter was with Cromwell in Ireland, in 1649; and that, in all the subsequent disputes which arose between them, Baxter was ever the aggressor. Baxter also mainly contributed to defeat the attempt made by the Independents to agree upon a Declaration of their faith, at a meeting at the Savoy, in 1658[28].

The Savoy Conference.

Such a man was little calculated to reconcile the differences which again came under discussion at the Savoy, at the Conference which the King, in accordance with his Declaration, appointed to be held there, in 1661. Baxter, in fact, only embroiled the conflict still further by his conduct upon that occasion. Having a majority of the Presbyterian body ready to support him, he was anxious to have discussed those alterations in the government of the Church according to Archbishop Usher's plan, which had already been proposed to the King[29]. When he found that the terms of their Commission gave them no power to do this, but that their attention was to be confined only to such alterations as it might be necessary or expedient to make in the Book of Common Prayer, he drew up with his own hand, in the short space of fourteen days, an entirely new Liturgy, which he proposed should be substituted for the existing Liturgy by any who might prefer it. A list of exceptions against the existing Liturgy was presented at the same time. His first proposal justly gave great offence to those Commissioners who expressed their anxiety to abide by the existing Liturgy; and, believing that it was inconsistent with the terms

[28] Orme's Life of Owen, 89. 176—180.

[29] Neal, iii. 87; Collier, viii. 403.

of their Commission, to make so complete and unnecessary a change as that involved in Baxter's copy, they rejected it without examination. Then followed the discussion of the exceptions urged against the existing Liturgy; a discussion, which it is needless once more to review, for it would be to toil through a long catalogue of petty objections and subtle answers, which gave rise to nothing but obstinate and fruitless debate[30].

Let it suffice at present to remark, that both parties retired from the Conference, without having attained any one of the objects for which it was appointed to be held, and with increased feelings of hostility towards each other. The alterations, made a few months afterwards in the Book of Common Prayer by the Convocation, which received special instructions for that purpose from the King, served to widen the breach yet more; for many of the points, upon which a disposition to concede had been before manifested, were then enforced with fresh stringency; and the afflicting hour of pains and penalties, decreed by Parliament, was at hand[31].

Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, 1661.

[30] It may be some consolation, to all who value the immortal work of Pearson on the Creed, to know that he appears in a most favourable point of view among the Savoy Commissioners. Neal, for instance, admits that he 'disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly;' and that 'the Presbyterians had a great regard for him, and believed, that, if he had been an umpire in the controversy, his concessions would have greatly relieved them,' iii. 92.

[31] The reasons which induced the authorities of that day to take the severe course they did may be best learnt from their own words; and for this cause I subjoin the following representation, supplied by Clarendon, in his Life, ii. 121, of the mischief which, according to his judgment, would have followed a milder policy: 'If all were granted, they [the Dissenters] would have more to ask,

One of the alterations then made in our Prayer Book calls for special notice, on account of its connexion with the subject of this history, namely, the introduction of 'The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of riper years.' The Preface, drawn up at the same time, and attached to the Prayer Book, speaks of this office as 'not so necessary when the former Book was compiled, yet by the growth of Anabaptism through the licentiousness of the late times crept in among us, [it] is now become necessary, *and may be always useful for the baptizing of natives in our plantations*, and others converted to the faith.' This Preface, as well as the 'Prayer for all conditions of men,' then also for the first time added to our Liturgy, is generally said

Reference to our Colonies in its Preface then drawn up.

somewhat as a security for the enjoyment of what is granted, that shall preserve their power, and shake the whole frame of government. Their faction is their religion: nor are those combinations ever entered into upon real and substantial motives of conscience, how erroneous soever, but consist of many glutinous materials, of will, and humour, and folly, and knavery, and ambition, and malice, which make men inseparably cling together, till they have satisfaction in all their pretences, *or till they are absolutely broken and subdued, which may always be more easily done than the other.* And if some few, how signal soever (which often deceives us), are separated and divided from the herd upon reasonable overtures, and secret rewards which make the overtures look more reasonable; they are but so many single men, and have no more credit and authority (whatever they have had) with their companions, than if they had never known them, rather less; being less mad than they were makes them thought fit to be less believed. And they, whom you think you have recovered, carry always a chagrin about them, which makes them good for nothing, but for instances to divert you from any more of that kind of traffick.' I give the above as a sample of the reasons by which Clarendon was sincerely influenced; but I believe that the grounds of them were as false as their consequences were ruinous.

to have been composed by Bishop Sanderson[32]. The resemblance of the language of both to his other writings, gives good ground for believing that this supposition is correct; and, if it be so, a remarkable instance is supplied of the stedfastness with which this great man continued to cherish in his heart the love of his brethren in distant lands. We have seen him, twenty years before, joining in the first Petition addressed to an English Parliament upon this subject, and beseeching them to extend spiritual help to our infant Colonies in the West[33]; and now, after all the distractions and troubles through which England had passed, and was still passing, we find him bearing those same countries in remembrance. He sees his countrymen resorting thither all the more rapidly by reason of the very anxieties and fears which prevailed at home; desires that they should carry with them the ordinances of grace to the natives among whom they had fixed their Plantations; and prays, in the words of the Psalmist, that God would 'be pleased to make' His 'ways known unto them,' His 'saving health unto all nations.' If we turn from the consideration of the individual, who gave utterance to such thoughts in such words, to that of the Church which has adopted them for her own, we must all, I think, acknowledge, that, by thus interweaving them into the daily services of her Liturgy, by thus connecting them with the Office of Baptism specially appointed for such as are of riper years, and by thus

Remarks thereon.

[32] Cardwell, in his history of Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer, p. 372, thinks it probable that the 'Prayer for all conditions of men' was composed by Reynolds; but still admits that it is commonly ascribed to Sanderson.

[33] See p. 15, *ante*.

publicly avowing the purposes for which that office was appointed, she has set her seal, broadly and indelibly, to attest the existence of a most sacred duty, and her own earnest desire to fulfil it. And, further, if we believe, that, in making this avowal, the Church of England acted as became a faithful and true witness of the Gospel of Christ, it is assuredly incumbent upon us, who possess far ampler means of acting in accordance with this testimony than she did at the time she made it, to take heed that we weaken not its force, by neglecting to carry the ordinances of the same Gospel to our most distant Plantations among the heathen.

Act of Uniformity.

The alterations in the Book of Common Prayer did not concern the members of the Convocation alone. Both Houses of Parliament watched them with eager curiosity. At an early stage of the Savoy Conference, and again at its conclusion, the House of Commons manifested its strong dislike of the Nonconformists, and its determination not to gratify any of their wishes. The Lords, although, in some instances, they showed a desire to act more leniently, concurred generally in the same view; and hence, after authentic copies of the corrected Prayer Book, confirmed by the Great Seal, had been laid before Parliament, the mode of its observance was defined and ratified by the Act of Uniformity, May 19, 1662[34]. It refers, in the preamble, to a similar Act passed in the first of Elizabeth, to the evils which had followed the neglect in using the Liturgy 'during the late unhappy troubles,' and to the steps lately taken for preventing the like 'in time to come.' It then 'enacts

[34] Cardwell, ut sup. 374—392; also Clarendon's Life, ii. 128—139.

that every minister should, before the next feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24, publicly declare his unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in the said Book,' on pain of being '*ipso facto*, deprived of all his spiritual promotions.' A further declaration was to be subscribed by all members of Cathedral Chapters, by all in authority in the Universities, and by all schoolmasters, that it was 'not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King:' that they would 'conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by law established;' and that no obligation rested upon them, or any other person, to observe the Solemn League and Covenant, which was declared contrary to the known laws and liberties of this kingdom. A refusal to make this declaration was to be punished, in the case of the Clergy, by the loss of their preferments, and, in that of Schoolmasters, by imprisonment and fine. Again, no person was permitted to hold a benefice, or to administer the Holy Communion, who was not episcopally ordained, 'on pain of forfeiting for every offence one hundred pounds.' No other order of Common Prayer than that herein set forth was to be used in any place of public worship; and no ministers were to be permitted to preach or lecture, until Episcopal licence had been received, and a declaration of assent given to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Prayer Book, 'under pain of being disabled to preach;' and an imprisonment for three months was the penalty further imposed upon all who should preach 'while so disabled[35].'

Reflections thereon.

Now, regarding the provisions of this Act, with reference to the parties by whom

[35] 13, 14 Car. II. c. 4.

it was framed, and those against whom its penalties were directed, it is impossible to deny that it gave just cause of complaint to the Nonconformists. The question was not simply, whether a Church had not a right to require of her ordained ministers an uniformity in the observance of her public services. Upon the lawfulness of such a power, and upon the reasonableness of exercising it, two opinions, probably, cannot be entertained, save by the enemies of all order. But the question was, whether, in the condition of England at this time,—when long and complicated disputes had divided the minds and affections of so many of her people, and promises of reconciliation had been made and accepted,—it was right to exact obedience alike of every man to this extent, and according to these precise terms. The Nonconformists, no doubt, might reasonably have expected, 'that the old constitution must return with the King; that diocesan episcopacy was the only legal establishment; that all which had been done in favour of presbytery not having had the royal assent, was void in law; and that, therefore, they and their friends, who had not episcopal ordination and induction into their livings, must be looked upon as intruders, and not legal ministers of the Church of England.' The historian of the Puritans himself admits this to have been the fact; and, that I may not misrepresent, however unintentionally, his meaning, I have quoted his admission in his own words[36]. But,

[36] Neal, iii. 30, 31. The reader will be interested in comparing the description given by Clarendon in his Life, ii. 142, of the same matter: 'There was scarce a man [among the Presbyterian ministers] who had not been so great a promoter of the rebellion, or contributed so much to it, that they had no other title to their lives but by the king's mercy; and there were very few amongst

on the other hand, must be taken into account the great influence which, it was notorious, the Presbyterians had exercised in bringing back the King; the readiness with which he, knowing their sentiments and acts, had accepted their assistance; the solemn assurance which, upon the word of a King, he had given and renewed in his two public Declarations, that 'no man should be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom;' and the concessions which, in the second of these documents, he had avowed himself ready to make for the sake of peace. How is it possible to reconcile such assurances with some of the penal clauses of the Act of Uniformity? Or, how could they, whose hopes had been excited by the former, not feel that they were most hardly dealt with in being compelled, two years afterwards, to submit to the latter? I know the answer which it has been attempted to give to these questions, by urging that all the assurances of the King were expressly made subject to such alterations as might be determined upon by Parliament, and that if Parliament held it necessary, for the preservation of the Church and for the restoration of her discipline and doctrine, that such enactments should be passed, the King must be held blameless[37]. I cannot think this answer suffi-

them who had not come into the possession of the churches they now held, by the expulsion of the orthodox ministers who were lawfully possessed of them, and who being by their imprisonment, poverty, and other kinds of oppression and contempt during so many years, departed this life, the usurpers remained undisturbed in their livings, and thought it now the highest tyranny to be removed from them, though for offending the law, and disobedience to the government.'

[37] Clarendon's Life, ii. 140, 141; Lords' Journals, xi. 449.

cient. The Parliament, it must be remembered, spoke the opinions of the King's ministers; those ministers had drawn up the King's Declarations; and, if expressions were thus put into the King's mouth, the meaning of which they who employed them knew would be explained away by the interpretation of other parties, with whom the decision of the matter was made to rest, it was, in effect, to convert the Declarations themselves into an act of solemn mockery.

Ejection of Nonconformists.

The severity of the measure was aggravated by the manner of its execution. No settled provision was offered to be made for the relief of ministers who could not conscientiously subscribe to the Act of Uniformity; a provision, which had been regarded both by Elizabeth when the Liturgy was enacted in her reign, and by the Republicans when they ejected the Clergy in the reign of Charles I.; and the existence of which, howsoever its terms may have been, in the latter case, evaded[38], bore witness to a sacred and unalterable principle of justice. Again, the day fixed upon for the commencement of the operation of the Act, so quickly followed its passing into a law, that time was not given for considering all the alterations which had been made in the Prayer Book. The consciences of some, therefore, who were not unwilling to conform, were perplexed; whilst others, by the suddenness of the appeal so forced upon them, were led the more indignantly to reject it. And, if the statement be true, that the choice of St. Bartholomew's day was made for the express purpose of depriving the ejected Clergy of a whole year's tithe[39], nothing more can be required to show the grievous spirit of injustice

[38] See Vol. i. 431—433, and p. 121, *ante*.

[39] Burnet's Own Times, i. 317.

then at work. Collier, who was no lover of Presbyterianism, remarks, with respect to these proceedings, that 'those who quit their interest are certainly in earnest, and deserve a charitable construction:' that 'mistakes in religion are to be tenderly used, and conscience ought to be pitied when it cannot be relieved[40].' But few traces of tenderness or of pity can be discerned in the course now pursued. The number of those who resigned their preferments in consequence is computed at two thousand; among whom were Manton, Owen, Charnock, Baxter, Calamy, Pool, Caryl, Gouge, Howe, Flavel, and Philip Henry. The bare recital of such names is the strongest evidence of the evils experienced in that day of strife.

Other acts of severity against Nonconformists.

Other acts of severity against Nonconformists soon followed. In 1664, a law was passed, which subjected any person, above sixteen years of age, who should attend any religious worship other than that allowed by the Church of England, where five or more persons besides the household were present, to an imprisonment of three months for the first offence, and of six for the second. If he should offend a third time, he was liable to transportation for seven years to some of the American Plantations, except New England and Virginia; and, if he should make his escape thence, he was to be adjudged a felon, and suffer death without benefit of Clergy. They who suffered their houses or barns to be turned into conventicles were liable to like penalties; and, if any married women were taken in conventicles, they were to be imprisoned for a year, unless redeemed by their husbands upon the payment of forty shillings.

[40] Collier, viii. 453.

An information, made upon oath before a single justice of the peace, was to be deemed a sufficient ground for all proceedings under this Act; and, through its operation, the different county gaols throughout the kingdom were quickly filled with prisoners. In the following year, it was enacted that all persons in Holy Orders who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity, should acknowledge upon oath the illegality of bearing arms against the King, and their determination not to weaken his authority, or to contrive any alteration in the government of Church or State. If they refused to take this oath, they were not allowed to teach in schools, or to come within five miles of any city, or corporate town, or borough [41].

It was under the authority of such statutes, and in the persecuting spirit which animated the framers of them, that all those severities were, for a series of years, practised, of which the record has left so dark a blot in the pages of our country's annals. But the names of the sufferers have outlived their sufferings. The Society of Friends, for instance, can still point, with feelings of a grateful affection, to their founder, George Fox, who then, with such unshaken constancy, proclaimed their tenets to the world. And, in any and every country, or by whatsoever bonds of communion their differing inhabitants may be held together,—as long as strength shall remain to appreciate aright the energies of an ardent imagination, controuled by a profound and experimental knowledge of the human heart, and animated by the love and fear of God, all put forth, and working in wondrous harmony together,

George Fox.

John Bunyan.

[41] 16 Car. II. c. 4; 17 Car. II. c. 1.

that they may cheer and guide the Christian pilgrim in his progress through time to eternity,—so long shall the pages of John Bunyan be read and admired.

And here, let it be gratefully remembered, that the twelve years' imprisonment, during which Bunyan planned and composed his noble work, was ended by the humane interposition of Barlow, then Bishop of Lincoln, and other members of our Church[42]. And, further, —it must not be forgotten, that the history of these severities is relieved by some examples of a milder and more equitable spirit of legislation:—witness the abolition of the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, and the deliverance from arbitrary imprisonment secured under the Habeas Corpus Act[43].

Policy towards Roman Catholics.

The policy towards Roman Catholics during the same reign deserves attention. That Charles, notwithstanding his show of affection for the Church of England, had a secret bias towards the Church of Rome, there can be no doubt. Some, indeed, have asserted that he formally abjured the Protestant religion in the presence of Cardinal de Retz, before his last departure from France. Others assign this act to a later period[44]. Suspicions of the King's sincerity upon this subject existed in England, both before and after the Restoration; and the fact, that an Act was passed, in the first session of the new Parliament, which made it penal for any one to impute to him a desire to favour Popery, is a sufficient proof of their extent. The King was naturally de-

[42] Biog. Brit. in loc.

[43] 29 Car. II. c. 9. 31 Car. II. c. 2. I have already adverted (Vol. i. p. 419, *note*) to the abrogation of the Canons of 1640 by 13 Car. II. c. 12.

[44] Rapin, xiii. 237.

sirous to effect some plan by which favour could be extended towards the members of a communion so regarded by him[45]; but neither Clarendon nor the Parliament could, for a moment, second him in his views. Hence, it became his policy, and that of all who secretly were inclined towards the same end, to insist as stringently as possible upon the observance of uniformity, in order that the body of malcontents might thereby be increased to such a height as, in the end, to force on a general toleration, under the cover of which the Roman Catholics might regain their influence. It seemed impossible to attain this object in any other manner; for, although a Committee had been appointed, in 1661, for the purpose of considering the propriety of relaxing the penal laws against Roman Catholics, it soon ceased to prosecute its labours, in consequence of the determined manner in which the Jesuits insisted

[45] It is remarkable that one of the first and strongest motives which led Charles to regard the Roman Catholics with a favourable eye, was the consideration of the severe penal laws which had been enacted against them in England. Clarendon states, in his Life, ii. 104—108, that he had explained to him during his exile, the causes of their enactment; and that, after attentively listening to him, the King had expressed his regret at their existence, and his resolution to 'do his best, if ever God restored him to his kingdom, that those bloody laws might be repealed.' Clarendon adds that he frequently heard the King enlarge upon the same subject, when it came under discussion in the Courts of Roman Catholic princes; and acknowledges that 'it had been a very unseasonable presumption, in any man, who would have endeavoured to have dissuaded him from entertaining that candour in his heart.' It is strange that the King and the Statesman who bore this testimony to the sympathy which is naturally awakened in behalf of those who are oppressed, should not have remembered it when they were themselves the oppressors.

upon preserving to the Pope his temporal authority[46]. And, when the King published, in 1663, a Declaration in favour of liberty of conscience, it was met by Parliament with the strong expression of their disapproval of any mitigation of the existing penal statutes in matters of religion, and by the addition of some further enactments expressly against Roman Catholics[47]. At a later period, when Clarendon had been driven into exile, and the Cabal Administration succeeded to a brief and disgraceful interval of power[48], the scheme of comprehension and indulgence, then brought forward under their sanction, was negatived by the Commons. The Declaration also of Indulgence, proposed by the King, in 1672, was in like manner withdrawn, in consequence of the opposition renewed in the same quarter; and the Test Act was passed, in the year following, which made the disavowal of the doctrine of transubstantiation and the reception of the Holy Communion, 'according to the usage of the Church of England,' necessary for holding any temporal office of trust. By this Act, the King's brother, the Duke of York, who had a short time before entered into open communion with the Church of Rome, was compelled to give up his office of Lord High Admiral. The effect of such proceedings was to drive Roman Catholics, as Hallam describes it, 'into the camp of prerogative,' and to furnish a pretext for renewed intrigues and conspiracies

[46] Clarendon's Life, ii. 111.

[47] Hallam's Const. Hist. ii. 469.

[48] It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that this administration was so called from the initial letters of the five members who composed it, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.

in the Court; whilst a community in suffering led their leaders to sympathise with those of the Non-conformist party so far as to assure them of their hatred of persecution [49].

Condition of the Church during this reign at home.

The position in which our Church was placed by these events was full of danger. She was furnished indeed once more with the means of discharging her proper office as guide and instructor of the people. Her Creeds, her Liturgy, her Articles, the Orders of her Priesthood, the Sacraments of which she was the dispenser, above all, the Holy Scriptures, from which alone the authority and efficacy of every ministration was derived, were with her in all their fulness and integrity; and every spiritual blessing, which could be conveyed through these channels, it was her high prerogative to communicate as freely as they had been freely received. Her temporal endowments too and honours were restored; and, lifting up again 'her mitred front in courts and parliaments [50],' she could speak to those who stood in the high places of the earth, as well as to those who toiled in obscurity beneath them, the sanctifying truths of which all stood alike in need. Greater help also, than any which temporal dignities could give, she possessed, in the piety and learning, the prayers and vigilance, of many of her most favoured sons, who were at this period within her sanctuary. The light of some of them, indeed, of Hall and Usher, for example, had been quenched in the time of the Commonwealth; whilst others, of whom Hammond was the most distinguished,

Her distinguished Ministers,

[49] Hallam's Const. Hist. ii. 530. 524.

[50] Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution. Works, v. 195.

who had lived long enough to welcome the dawn of a brighter day, and for whom the trust of her highest offices had been then designed, entered into their rest before they could assume the responsibilities of such a charge. But Taylor continued, for some years after the Restoration, to exhibit in his daily walk that zeal, and love, and holiness, the spirit of which still breathes in his glowing pages. Bramhall too, and Sanderson, though for a briefer period, guided by their faithful and paternal counsels the Church which they had been the foremost to defend; and vindicated the truth from all assaults, with a firmness only equalled by the love with which they spake it. It was the age also, let us thankfully remember, of Bull and Pearson, of Walton and Pocock, of Allestree and Ken, of Fell and Beveridge, of Barrow, Stillingfleet, and Patrick, of Cudworth, More, and Tillotson. Wilson, too, that saintly and fearless Prelate whose "praise is in all the churches," was rising into manhood when most of these were in the maturity of their years. Moreover, among the Lay-members of our Church, in the same period, were some whose names would shed a lustre upon any age; and the character of Evelyn, and Boyle, and Nelson, alone proves the greatness of the privilege which must have been enjoyed in holding fellowship with such men. But, on the other hand, most evil influences were at work, inseparable from that state of things which now marked the external history of our Church, and calculated greatly to impede her in the due exercise of her duties both at home and abroad. She was surrounded by an atmosphere of strife, the poison of which could scarcely fail to injure those who breathed it. The remembrance of former wrongs, the sharp exasperation of present

And Lay-members.

disputes, the apprehension of future assaults, had, all of them, a tendency to disturb the judgment, and to inflame the passions of men. And they who would trace with impartial hand the character of the many feuds by which England was then distracted,—the effects of which, it is not too much to say, are felt by her to this very hour,—must acknowledge that they were aggravated, not more by the pertinacious objections and unwarrantable claims of Nonconformists, or by the designs of Courts and Parliaments resolute to repress the first renewed encroachments of that power which had so lately cast both throne and altar to the ground, than by the exacting and contemptuous spirit of some of the chief spiritual Rulers, and subordinate Clergy, of the Church herself. The reports, for instance, which have come down to us of the conduct of Sheldon [51], who was translated from the See of London to the Primacy, upon the death of Juxon, in 1663, awaken feelings of regret, which cannot be effaced by remembering the strength of his abilities or the largeness of his munificence [52]. And so too, when we turn to the pages of South, and read there passages which, for faithful exposition of Christian doctrine, for felicity of illustration, for logical precision of argument, for brilliancy of wit, and for nervous yet graceful diction, are not surpassed by any in the whole compass of English literature, we are only left to lament more deeply the facility with which the spirit of religious

[51] Neal, iii. 116. 168. 195.

[52] Sheldon's benefactions, public and private, amounted to 66,000*l.*; a great portion of which was appropriated to the relief of the necessitous in the time of the plague, and to the redemption of Christian slaves. Quoted from Granger by Neal, ii. 484, *note.*

discord could debase such noble powers, by mingling with them the alloy of bitter invective and irreverent railing.

Condition of the Church in Scotland.

It was not in England only that such influences were found at work. Scotland had already been the field on which the adherents of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism had fought their hardest battles; and she was doomed to witness the renewal of them once more. Even Leighton, with all that wisdom, and love, and piety, which so eminently distinguished him, could not prevent their outbreak, or restrain their progress. When the government had determined to restore Episcopacy in Scotland [53], upon the assurance erroneously held out that such a measure would be welcomed by the great body of the nation, Leighton was one of the four then consecrated to exercise the office of Bishop in that country [54]. For nearly ten years, he presided over the diocese of Dunblane; and, for three years afterwards, over the more important diocese of Glasgow; but, at the end of that period, worn down by the trials and disappointments which had oppressed him from the very first, he obtained permission to resign all his spi-

[53] Burnet's Own Times, i. 225.

[54] The consecration took place in Westminster Abbey in 1661. Rapin states that all four had been Presbyterian ministers, xiii. 279. But this was only true with respect to two, Sharp and Leighton; and they were privately ordained Deacons and Priests before their consecration. Burnet, i. 237, 238. The gentleness and love of Leighton's spirit may be traced in all his writings, and, if we would see it manifested in act, we may refer to the anecdote related of a friend who had called to see him in Sussex, and found that he had gone to visit a Presbyterian minister who was sick, upon a horse which he had borrowed of a Roman Catholic Priest. Pearson's Life of Leighton, prefixed to his Works, i. 66, ed. 1828.

ritual functions, and passed the remainder of his days, in holy retirement, in Sussex.

The miserable work of strife went on in the country from which Leighton was thus forced to depart. The stubborn resolution and burning zeal of the Covenanters waxed stronger, under every fresh severity which the Government inflicted. The wildness of their fanaticism became more intense, stimulating them, first, to deeds of violence and blood, and then prompting them to believe that, by such deeds, the will of God was accomplished and His glory promoted. Hence, dragging from his carriage the Primate Sharp, they could tear him from his daughter's arms, and murder him with repeated blows before her eyes. Hence too, they could withstand, in the shock of battle, the dragoons of Claverhouse; endure the most exquisite refinements of agonising torture; and, in the recesses of their own native mountains, sustain in prayer their solitary vigils, with a patience and constancy which knew no weariness. Nay, triumphing in conflicts from which most men would shrink back appalled, and accounting their sufferings as a witness of God's fatherly love towards them, they cherished a keener hatred against all His enemies, among whom they regarded the upholders of Prelacy, in any and every shape, as the most deadly. The Church, which they thus vilified and condemned, was, in her proper character, guiltless of the sins imputed to her; but, being made to bear the burden of misdeeds which secular rulers committed in her name, her trials, of course, were multiplied, and the difficulties of discharging her duties increased.

Character of Charles II.

Another, and, if possible, a yet more grievous source of evil to the Church was the character and conduct of the King who professed

to honour her. Adversity had failed to leave upon his heart a single trace of the wholesome lessons which it is her prerogative to teach. Rescued, as by a miracle, from perils the most imminent, and restored to a throne from which he and his race had seemed to be for ever shut out, he was still, as he always had been, reckless, sensual, insincere. In Scotland, that he might snatch the precarious title of her King, he had once subscribed the Covenant; branded with heaviest reproaches the Church into which he had been received by Baptism; and, declaring that his father had committed a grievous sin 'in marrying into an idolatrous family;' that 'the bloodshed in the late wars lay at his father's door;' and that his own life had been a course of enmity to God's laws, of which he bitterly repented; he had protested most solemnly that he would adhere to the terms of that Declaration as long as he lived[55]. Then followed his covert correspondence, and, as some affirm, actual communion upon the Continent with the Church of Rome. Before and after which event, the declarations of his attachment to the Church of England were renewed so frequently, and in terms of such deep earnestness, that it might well have been accounted a treasonable impiety not to have received them as sincere. Yet, they were but the lying professions of the hypocrite. His heart was all this while with Rome; and, in his dying hour, he rested in her arms. And, what more fitting accompaniment to such false words can be found, than the acts of heartless profligacy by which his whole life was polluted? Surrounded by mistresses in his exile, he disgraced, with their presence and influence, the Court to which he

[55] Rapin, xiii. 46. 58.

returned; and, insulted his bride, the Infanta Catherine of Portugal, by compelling her, upon her arrival in England, to submit to the attendance of one who was then the most favoured among them[56]. Reputation, fortune, happiness, he sacrificed all at their shrine. No remonstrances, no chastisements could restrain him. Clarendon, 'the representative,' it has been truly said, 'of English good sense, and English good feeling[57],' lifted up, even to the last moment of his political power, the voice of warning. The plague swept off thousands of his subjects; and the fire consumed for many days the metropolis of his kingdom. Still was Charles seen running the same round of sin, feeding on the licentious and impious jests of Buckingham and Rochester, and wasting life, amid the ministers of his guilty pleasures, until he was struck down by death.

Its evil influences.

The poison which infected the Court spread through the whole land. The easy good-nature and wit and gaiety of the King made his example, among all classes of the people, more fatal. To plunge into excesses, the very approach to which had been for twenty years forbidden, under the strictness of Puritanic rule, became the fashion of the day. The chains of a conventional and forced sanctity were quickly snapped asunder; and, as if to indemnify themselves for the pain of its bondage, the sons and daughters of pleasure set no limit to their indulgence. Licentiousness thus became the constant companion of loyalty. Poets also found their choicest patronage

[56] Clarendon's Life, ii. 165—175. Tangier and Bombay formed part of Catherine's dowry; and attention will be directed to these hereafter.

[57] Smythe's Lectures on Modern History, ii. 39.

in pandering to vice; and vice herself became more hideous, from the coarseness of the garb in which, at theatre, and masque, and revel, she flaunted continually before the public sight. In truth, the foremost critic of our age has not described too strongly the shameful wickedness which then prevailed, when he represents the figures, which attracted the gaze of applauding multitudes, as having their 'foreheads of bronze, hearts like the nether millstone, and tongues set on fire of hell[58].'

In the midst, however, of all these difficulties, the Church had still the obligations of duty resting upon her, and the means of obeying it within her. Proceed we then to trace the manner in which she strove to apply these means to their proper end, in the lands with which she was now connected by the commerce, or Colonial jurisdiction, of England.

[58] Macaulay's Essays, iii. 259.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE LEVANT, INDIA, THE WEST INDIES, AND CAROLINA, UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH AND CHARLES II.

A.D. 1648-9—1685-6.

The Levant.

We have already remarked the efforts of the Levant Company to make their operations a channel for extending the knowledge of Christianity along the south-eastern borders of Europe; and the labours of Pocock, and Huntington, and other Clergy of our Church, in connexion with them [1]. The influence thus created seems to have disposed the parties, entrusted with the management of our factories in that quarter, to show but little sympathy towards ministers who were sent out by the Commonwealth. For, in 1660, when John Broadgate, a Presbyterian minister, who had been appointed Chaplain at Smyrna, brought a bale containing copies of a Catechism, probably the Assembly's Short Catechism, or some abridgment of it, and required the merchants to draw up answers to the questions therein contained, they refused to submit to his yoke of discipline; and,

[1] See pp. 117—119, *ante*.

after much fruitless altercation, Broadgate returned home discomfited[2]. In fact, the Levant Company appears to have appointed its own Chaplains, under the Commonwealth, as it had aforetime, irrespective of any authority from Cromwell. For, in 1654, Robert Frampton, a distinguished minister of our Church, was sent by the Company to Aleppo, and continued, for sixteen years, to have the spiritual charge of the factory there established. At the end of that period, Frampton returned to England, where he acquired the highest reputation and influence as a Preacher[3]; and, in 1673, was appointed Dean, and in 1681 Bishop, of Gloucester[4]. The refusal of Frampton, a few years later, to take the oaths to William III. deprived him indeed of his temporal authority and income; but, as we shall see hereafter, he retained a lively interest in the spiritual welfare both of the Church Colonial and Church Domestic,—an interest, probably increased by his experimental knowledge, in earlier days, of the close and sacred union which exists between them. Huntington, the successor of Frampton, continued to carry on the duties of Chaplain at Aleppo, during the greater part of the reign of Charles II.; and Smith, whose proficiency in Oriental studies was so great as to gain for him the title of Rabbi Smith, filled the like office at Constantinople[5]. A third Chaplain officiated

Its Chaplains,

[2] Account of Levant Company, Lond. 1825, p. 52.

[3] Pepys, in his Diary, ii. 6, and Evelyn, in his Diary, ii. 250, both bear remarkable testimony to Frampton's powers as a Preacher.

[4] Biog. Brit. (Art. Huntington.)

[5] Following the guidance of the above Account of the Levant Company, I had spoken of Rabbi Smith, in the first edition of this work, as a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, who was deprived of his Fellowship by James II., and at the Revolution became a

at Smyrna; and evidences are still extant of the faithful and devoted spirit with which these men, and their successors, discharged their duties. The Sermons, preached at different intervals, in this and succeeding reigns, before the Levant Company at home, and the notices to be found in the Journals, Letters, and other writings, which some of the Levant Chaplains have left behind them, supply these evidences. Of the former, those preached by Smith in 1668, by Hickman in 1680, and by Hayley 1686-7, will be found the most interesting; and among the latter, the publications of Chishull, Chaplain at Smyrna, and of Maundrell, Chaplain at Aleppo, towards the close of the 17th century, and of Shaw, Chaplain to the English factory at Algiers, in the early part of the next century[6], are highly valuable, for the information which they supply to the antiquarian, to the classical student, and to the naturalist, in their researches, and especially to those who, in their examination of the Holy Scriptures, desire to understand aright the customs and manners of the East therein described. That these men pursued their labours among a people willing to reap the fruit of them, may be inferred from the following character, given by Maundrell, of his congregation at Aleppo:

'They are pious, sober, benevolent, devout in the offices of reli-

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Nonjuror. I ought to have said that Rabbi Smith, although he graduated as a member of Queen's College, was afterwards elected to a Fellowship at Magdalen, and bore a prominent part in the conflict between that College and James II., in 1687. That he became a Nonjuror there is no doubt. Biog. Brit. in loc; Macaulay's History of England, ii. 286.

[6] After the return of Shaw to England, he was appointed Principal of St. Edmund Hall, and Regius Professor of Greek in Oxford. Account of Levant Company, 46.

gion, in conversation innocently cheerful, given to no pleasures but such as are honest and manly, to no communications but such as the nicest ears need not be offended at, exhibiting in all their actions those best and truest signs of a Christian spirit, a sincere and cheerful union amongst themselves, a generous charity towards others, and a profound reverence for the Liturgy of the Church of England. It is our first employment every morning to solemnize the daily service of the Church, at which I am always sure to have a devout, a regular, and a full congregation[7].'

And Consuls.

I may here remark also that Paul Rycaut, whose description of the condition of the Greek and Armenian Churches well merits perusal, was, in the reign of Charles II., one of the Consuls of the Levant Company; a body of men, distinguished, both then and afterwards, for the zeal, intelligence, and high principle with which they maintained the commercial relations of this country with the East, and for their hearty and sincere efforts, in conjunction with the ordained ministers of our Church, to make those relations the means of communicating the knowledge of Christian truth to its inhabitants[8].

India.

In passing from the consideration of the Levant to that of India, we find no less than three different Charters granted by Charles II. to

[7] Ib. 42.

[8] In connexion with the Levant Company, I must not omit the name of Dr. Alexander Russell, a distinguished physician, at Aleppo, in the middle of the 18th century, upon whose character a valuable Essay has been written by Dr. Fothergill.

A surrender was made by the Levant Company of its Charters to the Crown, in 1825, in consequence of the Bill then passed for the better regulation of the Consular Establishments of the country; and the letter of Mr. Canning and the speech of Lord Grenville, (then Governor of the Company,) deserve notice. Ib. 57, &c.

the East India Company, for the purpose of renewing, confirming, or enlarging their privileges; the first, dated April 3, 1661; the second, October 5, 1677; and the third, August 9, 1683[9]. In the marriage treaty also of Charles with Catherine, dated only two months after the first of the above Charters, it was agreed that the Island of Bombay should be ceded to him in full sovereignty; that the English should have power to trade with Goa and Cochin; and that, if, by the joint exertions of the two countries, Ceylon could be taken from the Dutch, the English were to retain possession of whatsoever parts they might conquer of that Island, with the exception of Colombo. But, it was one thing for the ministers of European Courts to agree upon articles of treaty at home, and another to give effect to them abroad. The refusal of the Portuguese Viceroy of Bombay to give it up into the hands of the English, the differences which arose with respect to the full meaning of the terms of the article of surrender, the consequent delay, and, lastly, the difficulties which attended the maintenance of the Island, concurred to reduce very greatly the amount of benefit which the nation had expected to derive from its acquisition. In March, 1669, it was transferred, by Letters Patent, from the Crown to the East India Company. Among the regulations framed soon afterwards for the government of Bombay, I find one declaring that 'the Protestant religion was to

[9] The Law relating to India, &c. p. 1. The first of the Charters confirmed the Company's right to St. Helena. In 1665, the Dutch retook it, but were expelled from it in the same year: and, in 1674, it was granted under another Charter of the Crown to the Company. Ib., and Bruce's Annals, ii. 232. 334.

be favoured, but no unnecessary restraints imposed upon the inhabitants who might profess a different faith[10].'

A Church designed, and Chaplains appointed for Bombay.

An attempt was made, a few years later, probably in 1685, to erect a spacious Church in Bombay. Its foundation was laid, and its walls were carried up some feet, when, from some cause not now known, the work was stopped. But, several years before that time, a temporary place of worship, consisting of two rooms in the fort thrown into one, had been resorted to by the few members of our Church in the settlement; and Chaplains had been appointed to conduct their devotions. During the reign of Charles II. no less than fourteen Chaplains were appointed by what was then termed the Court of Committees, to different stations in India, and one to St. Helena. Of these, three were appointed to Bombay; one in 1671, another in 1672, and a third in 1679. Eight more Chaplains also were added in various quarters of the East between the reign of Charles II. and the end of the 17th century; making the whole number appointed, before the union of the two East India Companies, twenty-three. Two of these were prevented from proceeding to their respective destinations[11]. The earliest definite information, which I have been able to obtain in connexion with the Church at Bombay is, that, in 1715, a resolution was entered into, mainly at the instance of the Rev. Richard Cobbe, Chaplain at that time, to build a

[10] Bruce, ii. 11. 105. 134. 155. 198. 226.

[11] For the list of these Chaplains, which has been kindly forwarded to me from the East India House, see Appendix, No. I.

Church upon the foundation of that which had been before begun; and that, on Christmas Day, 1718, it was opened for the celebration of Divine Service [12].

First English Church built at Madras.

The first stone also of an English Church was laid in Madras, in 1680, by the pious hands of Streynsham Master, its Governor. He had been, for some years, a most valuable servant of the East India Company, and displayed the greatest courage and prudence on many and great emergencies [13]. His daily walk also had been distinguished by an uniform and consistent obedience to the Word and will of God; and, having entered upon the government of Madras, in 1678, he rejoiced to commence this work for the welfare of its people. The Church, which was erected at the cost of Governor Master, and some of the chief English residents at Madras was called St. Mary's [14]; and

[12] Hough's Christianity in India, iv. 431, 432. It appears from the authorities there cited, that about thirty years had elapsed between laying the foundation of the first Church and the recommencing of the second in 1715: and hence I have assigned the probable date of the former to the year 1685. The first Church in Calcutta seems to have been erected about the same time with that in Bombay. Ib. 3.

[13] Bruce, ii. 285. 403. A remarkable anecdote of Governor Master, is related by Professor Wilson, in his edition of Mill's History of British India, i. 470, *note*.

[14] In the first edition, I had said, upon the authority of Asiaticus, (quoted by Hough, iii. 377,) that this Church was completed at the sole cost of Governor Master. But I have since ascertained from the original records of St. Mary's Church, that the representation which I have now made is the correct one. Copies of the records are given in the Appendix to this Volume, No. II.; and I gratefully acknowledge the kind help of the Rev. G. W. Mahon, formerly Garrison Chaplain of Fort St. George, to whom I am indebted for the copies.

the Rev. Richard Portman was appointed its first minister[15].

Reasons why no extensive or systematic operations were then carried on in India by the English.

If it be asked, why more was not now done in furtherance of like righteous designs? a reply is to be found in the fact, that, notwithstanding the increased importance of the political and commercial relations of this country with Hindustan, the same causes still remained in force, which I have before pointed out as obstructing the systematic introduction of the doctrines and ordinances of our Church among its different tribes[16]. The agents of the Company still held footing only upon a very few spots on the borders of that vast continent, and were consequently unable to wield any of those instruments, which had been put so successfully into operation by the Portuguese and the Dutch. And, even this their power, feeble as it was, became yet more precarious, through the evasive policy of Portugal, and the advantages which Holland gained under the Treaty of Breda. In addition to which, the wars which were continually going on, throughout Charles's reign, between Aurungzebe, the great ruler of the Mogul empire, and the new power of the Mahrattas, then rising in the Deccan, compelled the agents of the Company at Surat, and Fort St. George, and in Bengal, to accommodate themselves to the will of whichsoever party might, for the time, be superior. They were exposed, at every turn, to the assaults of the different contending parties. Surat, for instance, was twice attacked and pillaged by the Mahratta chief, Sivajee; although the gallant resistance of the

[15] See Appendix, No. II.

[16] See Vol. i. 377.

English prevented its capture. At a later period, Bombay was invaded by the Siddee's forces; and in the opposite quarter of the coast of Coromandel, the arms of the Mogul were also directed against the English. Hence, notwithstanding all the temporal rights and privileges conferred upon the East India Company by the Crown of England, it was impossible for them to rest their operations upon any permanent and secure basis [17].

AFRICA.

It has been already stated, that the East India Company, during the Commonwealth, by virtue of a Charter granted for that purpose, had become masters of certain forts and warehouses upon the western coast of Africa [18]; an arrangement, which had arisen out of the coalition which they had been forced to make with the Assada merchants. In 1663, the prospect of gain from the shameful slave-trade led the King to form a new African Company, the third, of which his brother, the Duke of York, was President, with the privilege of sole trade to Guinea; and the East India Company were consequently forced to part with their possessions on the coast [19]. Clarendon describes the operation of this new Royal African Company in terms which plainly show that neither he nor those connected with it were disturbed by any sense of its iniquity.

Encouragement of the Slave Trade.

'Many ships,' he says, 'were sent to the coast of Guinea, which made very good returns, by putting off their blacks at the Barbadoes, and other the King's plantations, at their own prices; and brought

[17] Bruce, ii. 284. 641. 650. 672—674.

[18] See p. 102, *ante*.

[19] Bruce, ii. 115.

home such store of gold that administered the first occasion for the coinage of those pieces, which from thence had the denomination of *guineas;* and what was afterwards made of the same species, was coined of the gold that was brought from the coast by the Royal Company.'

The Duke of York, he also relates, took the greatest interest in the prosecution of the work, constantly presiding at all Councils, which were held once a week in his own lodgings at Whitehall. The only real grievance which seems to have affected the minds of those engaged in this enterprise, was the successful rivalry of other European nations; the Dutch being already established, more advantageously than themselves, upon the bank of one of the African rivers, 'and the Dane before either[20].' To guard more effectually against the hindrances cast in their way by these competitors, and other interlopers, the third English African Company surrendered its Charter in 1672; and a fourth, the last, Company was established, to which the King and Duke of York and many other persons of high rank were subscribers[21]. No effort was wanting upon their part to give effect to the work in which they were engaged; and a pamphlet, published in this reign, and entitled 'The Case of his Majesty's Sugar Plantations,' actually urges it as a ground upon which favour ought to be shown towards the Planters, that they had, 'at their cost, bought above 100,000 Negroes from Africa, whereby so many new subjects are added to the Crown[22].' Nor can it surprise us that such should have been the vast amount of traffic in slaves, at-

[20] Clarendon's Life, ii. 232—234.

[21] Anderson's History of Commerce, ut sup. iii. 569.

[22] Somers' Tracts, viii. 480.

tained even in that day, when we observe the great exertions made to extend it. In the Instructions to Sir Thomas Lynch, Governor of Jamaica, September 8, 1681, the following passage occurs:

Instructions thereon to Lynch, Governor of Jamaica.

'You are to give all due encouragement and invitation to merchants and others who shall bring Trade unto our said Island, or any way contribute to their advantage, and in particular to the Royal African Company of England. And, as we are willing to recommend unto the said Company that the said Island may have a constant and sufficient supply of Merchantable Negroes at moderate rates in money or commodities, so you are to take speciall care that payment be duly made, and within a competent time according to their agreements, it being against reason to expect that any should send you good wares to a knowne bad market.

'You are also to take care, as much as in you lyes, that Our Order of Council, bearing date the 12th of November last past, be duly observed, wherein We have directed that the said Company shall send 3000 Merchantable Negroes yearly to Jamaica, provided they have good payments of their Debts contracted there: And that they do afford Merchantable Negroes unto the Inhabitants at £18 per head, to be payd there at 6 months forbearance, upon good security to be given for such payment: which Negroes are to be sold by lotts made for the whole Cargo of the Merchantable Negroes of every ship without any reservation whatsoever; And, in case there be any default on the part of the sayd Company, or of the Inhabitants of our Island to comply with this Regulation, you shall signify the same unto us, that We may give all necessary orders therein[23].'

Whilst England was thus eager to bind and drag the poor African to the hard toil that awaited him in her Colonies, she was still, as before, careful to restore to home and liberty her own children that were enslaved. A Letter of Sir Leoline Jenkins, written in 1670, in his capacity of Commissary to the Archbishop of Can-

Sir Leoline Jenkins's Letter touching the redemption

[23] MSS. (West Indies) State Paper Office.

of Christian slaves.

terbury, to the Clergy of that Diocese, touching the redemption of captives, entreats each of them to 'pursue that business with the same contrivance and earnestness, as if he had a son of his own, not to be redeemed out of those chains, but by the alms that himself should gather[24].' One of the biographers also of Ken has expressed his belief that the motive which induced that excellent man to accompany Lord Dartmouth, in 1683, as his Chaplain, when he went out, in command of a fleet of twenty ships, to destroy the mole and works of Tangier[25],—for Tangier was a part of Catherine's dowry, which proved as little advantageous to the Crown of England as Bombay had been,—was a desire to enquire into and mitigate the sufferings of Christian slaves in Africa[26]. The piety and active charity of Ken might well justify the belief that he visited

[24] Wynne's Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins, ii. 662. In another part of the same Letter a passage occurs which savours somewhat too strongly of the rigorous spirit of the day, for he broadly states, that, if ministers or churchwardens neglected the specific duty therein required of them, they were to be 'punished not in the ordinary way, but by his Majesty's Council.' Of the earnest and active zeal, which Jenkins manifested in other ways for the welfare of our Plantations, more will be said in the next chapter.

[25] During seven years of the period in which Tangier was in the hands of the English, Lancelot, father of Joseph, Addison, and afterwards Dean of Lichfield, was Chaplain of the Garrison; and his writings attest the diligence and candour with which he employed the valuable materials of information which he there collected. See Biog. Brit. (Art. Addison.)

[26] Bowles's Life of Bishop Ken, ii. 60—66. One of the officers who sailed home upon this occasion, in the same ship with Ken, was Kirke, who had been Governor of Tangier, and was afterwards the perpetrator of those cruel atrocities which were witnessed at Taunton, in the reign of James II.

Tangier with this view; and in the first edition of this work, I had expressed a willingness to adopt it. But it appears, from a more exact narrative of Ken's life since published, that his presence on board Dartmouth's ship, was in the capacity of Chaplain of the Fleet, which office he had accepted at the earnest request of Dartmouth, with a view of improving the moral condition of the Navy [27]; and Pepys, who accompanied the expedition, as a member of Dartmouth's Council, makes frequent allusions, in his Journals and Correspondence, to the faithful ministrations of Ken, whilst he was at Tangier. The opportunities which Ken must then have had of witnessing the evils to which Christian captives were frequently exposed, could not have been unnoticed by him. And the sense of such evils, had it operated as it ought in the hearts of his countrymen at home, might well have led them in their turn to pause and reflect, ere they became the wilful and systematic agents to inflict the same, or worse, wrongs upon others [28].

[27] Life of Bp. Ken, by a Layman (Lond. 1854), p. 194.

[28] A Mahometan chief, Sydan, the King of Fez, had not long before set the English an example in this respect, which they would have done well to have followed. In token of his gratitude for assistance received from Charles I. against the Sallee rovers, he had freed from captivity and sent home 300 Christian slaves; and, in a letter addressed afterwards to Charles for similar assistance against the Algerine corsairs, he had described the responsibilities of the Kingly office in terms not less just than emphatic, confessing that it made Kings servants of the people whom they governed, not less than of the Creator from whom they received the authority to govern; and that in the faithful discharge of such duties they magnified 'the honour of God, like the celestial bodies, which, though they have much veneration, yet serve only to benefit the world.' Ogilby's Africa, i. 184—186. Sydan, in another part of the same letter, thus justifies his application to Charles for help against the

THE WEST INDIES.

The West Indian Islands in which the enslaved African was enduring his toil and misery, all exhibited the consequences of those changes and divisions at home, which have been described in the preceding chapters. Jamaica, conquered and controuled by Cromwell's officers, became naturally a place of refuge for his adherents, when the Commonwealth ceased to exist. Several of the Regicides found in it a secure asylum; and an interest was thereby strengthened, which could hardly fail to work unfavourably to all who desired to see the ordinances of the Church of England administered, and the authority of her restored King respected, in the Island. These difficulties, it is true, were mitigated, in some degree, by the wise and conciliatory conduct of the King, who confirmed D'Oyley in the command which he had held under the Protectorate, and granted to him a Commission, by which the civil government of the Island was henceforward to be regulated. Its Instructions were equitably framed; and D'Oyley's

Jamaica.

pirates, by the following argument: 'Your great prophet Christ Jesus was the Lion of the tribe of Judah, as well as the Lord and Giver of peace, which may signify unto you, that he which is a lover and maintainer of peace, must always appear with the terror of his sword, and, wading through seas of blood, must arrive to tranquillity.' The adoption of such an argument by a disciple of Mahometanism is a curious illustration of the description given by Grotius of that religion, '*in armis nata, nihil spirat nisi arma, armis propagatur.*' De Verit. Rel. Christ. lib. ii. c. xii. Among the communications which took place at this period between Englishmen and Mahometans may be mentioned a very strange letter written by the Socinians, in the time of Charles II., to Ameth Ben Ameth, the Morocco ambassador. Leslie's Works, i. 207—211. fol. ed.

character supplied the safest guarantee for believing that they would have been faithfully and successfully observed, had he remained in Jamaica[29]. But he was permitted, at his own request, to return home, in 1662; and was succeeded by Lord Windsor, who brought with him a Royal proclamation, granting to 'all children of natural-born subjects of England, born in Jamaica,' that they should, 'from their respective births, be reputed to be, and be, free denizens of England; and have the same privileges, to all intents and purposes, as the free-born subjects of England.' The just and friendly policy, thus pursued towards the Island, in the early part of Charles's reign, was, unhappily, not maintained to the end. It remained, indeed, substantially unchanged under the government of Lord Windsor, and of his successors, Sir Charles Lyttelton (1663), Sir Thomas Modiford, from Barbados (1664), Sir Thomas Lynch (1670), and Lord Vaughan (1674). But, in 1678, the Earl of Carlisle was sent out Governor, with authority to enforce a new system of legislation, framed upon the model of the constitution established in Ireland under Poyning's Act. The Assembly of Jamaica resisted this aggression most strenuously. They felt that it would be the introduction of a system which must deprive them and their children of their just liberties; and were not to be deterred, either by threats or bribes, from continuing to give to the measure their most determined oppo-

Its Governors.

[29] I may here observe that an unfavourable character is given of D'Oyley by the Rev. G. W. Bridges, in his valuable Annals of Jamaica, i. 247; but, after having examined the authorities cited in his work, I venture still to retain the opinion which I have expressed above.

sition. Whilst the dispute was still going on, Carlisle returned to England; and Lynch, having been again appointed Governor, in 1681, with altered powers, succeeded, with the aid of the Council and Assembly, in obtaining the enactment of certain laws for the more satisfactory government of the Island, which were confirmed by the King in Council, in 1684, and most of which continue still in force[30].

The position of the Church therein.

A desire had been manifested, from the outset, to secure to all the Colonists in Jamaica, the ordinances of the Church; and, at the same time, a careful regard for the consciences of those who were not of her communion. It was a renewal of the spirit which animated the King's Declarations just before and after his restoration. Thus, in the Instructions to the Governors,—in order that 'persons of different judgments and opinions in matters of religion,' might be encouraged 'to transport themselves, with their effects, to Jamaica; and not be obstructed and hindered under pretence of scruples in conscience,'—it was ordered that they should be excused from taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, according to the terms required in England, and that some other mode be devised of securing their allegiance[31]. But, whilst this tenderness was shown to Nonconformists, I find it enjoined, by the 6th article of the Commission granted to D'Oyley, in 1661, that 'the Governor encourage ministers, that Christianity and the Protestant religion, according to the Church of England, might have due reverence and exercise amongst them;' and, again, the

[30] Long's History of Jamaica, B. i. c. i. and c. x. Appendix, B. and D.

[31] Long, B. ii. c. ix.

11th article of instruction issued to Lord Windsor, in the year following, expressly 'relates to the encouragement of an orthodox ministry [32].'

The first English Church built.

The Parish of St. Catherine, in St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, appears to have been the first which possessed an English Church. It was built upon the site of the old Spanish Red Cross Church. In 1674, sixty acres of rich pasture land were given by Mr. Edward Morgan, 'towards the maintenance of' the minister of that Parish; and, in the same year, 'upwards of five hundred acres, in the neighbourhood, were patented' for the same purpose. This latter grant was never applied to the above object, in consequence of the difficulty experienced by successive incumbents in getting rid of the occupants of the land; but the historian of Jamaica distinctly says that it was meant as a glebe to be annexed in perpetuity to the Rectory [33]. Another Church was erected in St. John's Parish in Spanish Town; and a third in the town of Port Royal. Clarendon Parish also, St. David's, St. Andrew's, and St. Thomas's, were provided with Churches; and all these, seven in number, appear to have been built before the expiration of the year 1664.

Six more added before 1664.

Her Clergy.

The number of Clergy, at the same time, were not more than five; three of whom accompanied Sir Charles Lyttelton. A sixth, Mr. Nicholas, settled soon afterwards at Morant, but was cut off by sickness: and, in 1671, as appears from Ogilvy's map of the Island of that date, a Clergyman, named Barrow, was resident in the Parish of St. Eliza-

[32] Edwards's West Indies, i. 245. 247.

[33] Long, B. ii. c. vii.

beth[34]. Among the Acts confirmed by the King in Council, in 1684, occurs one 'for the maintenance of Ministers, and the Poor, and erecting and repairing of Churches.' It recites the names of fifteen Parishes into which the Island was then divided; and provides that the Parish of Port Royal should pay £240 yearly of current money to the minister thereof; St. Catherine's, £140; St. Thomas's, St. Andrew's, and St. John's, £100 each; and all other Parishes within the Island, 'that either have, or shall have, a minister,' should allow and pay to him an annual stipend of not less than £80[35].

Fifteen parishes constituted.

I am not without hope of obtaining hereafter further information concerning the first Clergy who ministered in Jamaica. Meanwhile, the following recognition of the authority of the Bishop of London, for the time being, over them and their successors, is worthy of remark. It is contained in a Report from the Committee of Trade and Plantations, dated August 6, 1681:

The authority of the Bishop of London in Jamaica.

'We do likewise offer it unto your Majesty as necessary, that no minister be received in Jamaica, without licence from the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London; and that none, having his Lordship's licence, be rejected, without sufficient cause alleged; as also, that, in the direction of all Church affairs, the ministers be admitted into the respective vestries.'

Again, in the Instructions issued to Sir Thomas Lynch, upon his appointment to the Governorship of Jamaica for the second time, the following passage occurs, in reference to the same subject:

[34] I am indebted for some of the above information to Mr. Byam, to whom I have before referred, p. 85, *note*.

[35] Laws of Jamaica, 53—60.

'Our Will and pleasure is, that no minister be preferred by you to any Ecclesiasticall Benefice in Our said Island, without a certificate from the Bishop of London, of his being conforming to the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church of England. And also, Our pleasure is, you order forthwith (if the same be not already done) that every Minister within your Government be one of the Vestry within his respective Parish, and that no Vestry be held without him, except in case of sicknesse, or that, after notice of a Vestry summon'd, he absent himself. And you are to enquire whether there be any Minister within your Government, who preaches and administers the Sacraments without being in due Orders, whereof you are to give an account unto the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, and you are to endeavour, with the assistance of the Councill, that good and sufficient stipends and allowances be made and ascertained unto the Ministers of every Parish within your Government.

'And you are to take especiall care that a Table of Marriages established by the Canons of the Church of England, be hung up in every Church, and duly observed. And you are to endeavour to get a Law passed in the Assembly for a strict observation of the said Table.

'And you are to carry over a sufficient number of Books of Homilies, and Books of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, to be disposed of to every Church; and you are to take care that they be duly kept and used therein.'

Authority of the Governor to collate to Ecclesiastical Benefices.

In the Commission of Governor Lynch, dated a month earlier than the above Instructions, authority is given to him to collate 'persons to any Churches, Chappells, or other Ecclesiasticall Benefices within the said Island and Territories depending thereon, as often as any of them shall happen to be voyd[36].'

The efficacy of Episcopal government impaired by an Act of the Assembly.

The authority, however, of the Bishop of London over the Jamaica Clergy, was greatly impaired by one of the Acts of the Assembly, which declared 'that no eccle-

[36] MSS. (West Indies) in State Paper Office, 1681.

siastical law, or jurisdiction, shall have power to enforce, confirm, or establish any penal mulcts, or punishment, in any case whatsoever.' And, since the deprivation of a living, or its emoluments, is virtually a mulct, and actually a punishment, it became a question, whether the Bishop had a right to suspend any Clergyman in the Island, either *ab officio*, or *a beneficio*. The opinions of many of the inhabitants were strongly expressed against his right of interposition; and, as long as this feeling continued, it was evident that Episcopal jurisdiction became a mere nullity. And even, if no such question had arisen, the historian of Jamaica acknowledges that the great distance of the Colony from England, and the many engagements of the Bishop of London in his Diocese at home, would have been 'obstacles to his working a thorough reformation in Jamaica[37].' It is scarcely necessary to cite stronger testimony than this to the evils so long inflicted upon our Church abroad, through the absence of a Colonial Episcopate. But, in spite of these difficulties, we find considerable and successful efforts made to extend the ministrations of our Church throughout Jamaica; for, in the first Report of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, published within seventeen years after the death of Charles II., it is said that the number of Churches in the Island was fifteen.

An asylum opened by our Church in Jamaica for French Protestants.

The history of Jamaica, at this period, supplies evidence of the generous spirit manifested by our Church to the suffering Protestants of France. An Order of Council is still extant, dated January 19, 1682, which

[37] Long, B. ii. c. ix.

authorises the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of England,

'To provide passage, together with provision of Victualls as shall be necessary, for forty-two French Protestants, whose names are to be certifyed unto them by the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London, to be transplanted to His Majesty's Island of Jamaica, with the first conveniency they can: And the Right Hon^ble Mr. Secretary Jenkins is to send letters recommending the said persons to the favourable reception of Sir Thomas Lynch, Governor of His Majesty's said Island, they intending to plant and settle there.'

Annexed to this document is a list of the names thus certified, and signed by Compton then Bishop of London[38].

St. Kitt's.

Turning our attention now to the Island of St. Christopher, which had been first settled by the English under Warner, I find it stated by Blome, in his Account of the British Possessions in this quarter, as containing, in the middle of the 17th century, 'a fair and large Church:'—a proof, that the work begun by Featly[39], had not been neglected by those who followed him. But the disputes carried on, for nearly half a century, between the English and French settlers in the Island, blocked up the way of access against the ministrations of peace. And, although the evils likely to result from this circumstance, were for a time warded off by an agreement that the French should inhabit the upper, and the English the lower part of the Island, yet, before the death of Charles I., their constant quarrels led to a battle of several days' duration, in which the French were

Church built there.

Disputes with the French.

[38] Documents (West Indies) in State Paper Office.

[39] See p. 42, *ante*.

victorious. They not only expelled the English from the Island, but successfully repelled an attempt made by them, in the next year, to regain possession of it. The treaty of Breda, in 1667, gave liberty to the English to return to their former settlements in the Island; but, in 1689, they were once more driven out by the French. The following year saw the English, under the triumphant command of Codrington, in their turn, masters of St. Kitt's; and, although the French regained their former possessions in the Island at the peace of Ryswick, 1697, yet, by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, it was made over entirely to the British Crown[40].

Nevis and Montserrat.

Of the small Island of Nevis, also colonised by Warner, Du Tertre, in his History of the Antilles, relates that Lake, his successor in its government, was 'a wise man,' and that 'he feared the Lord:'—a statement, which has awakened in me a livelier feeling of regret that my efforts to obtain more definite information of the history of the Colony under his administration have hitherto proved unsuccessful. With respect to Montserrat, another of Warner's settlements, I could not expect to obtain any particulars, connected with the immediate object of this work; for few, if any, members of our Church took part in the early settlement of that Island. Its first Colonists were composed chiefly of Roman Catholics from Ireland; and others of the same communion soon joined them from the same country[41]. But, notwithstanding these obstacles, successful exertions must have been made to set up the standard of our Reformed Church in this Island; for, in the Report of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel above

[40] Edwards, i. 427. [41] Ib. 456.

referred to, Montserrat is described as having 'two parishes of the Church of England.'

Antigua. Antigua, another of the Islands settled by Warner or his family, had been granted, in 1663, by Charles II. to Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, in consideration of services rendered by him during his government of Barbados, in 1651, and described in a former chapter. The Governorship of Barbados having been again conferred upon that nobleman after the Restoration, he made it his place of residence instead of Antigua; but his authority was of short duration. In 1666, he perished in a storm off Guadaloupe. His nephew, whom he had appointed Deputy-governor during his absence, appointed Colonel Carden, Governor of Antigua; but, soon after his assumption of office, the Island fell into the hands of the French, in whose hands it remained, until it was restored to the English by the treaty of Breda; and Carden himself was murdered afterwards by the Caribs[42]. In 1668, William, Lord Willoughby, brother of the former Governor, arrived in Antigua, holding the same office; and, among his followers, was Major Byam, the distinguished Royalist, who retained the Lieutenant-governorship of Surinam for several years, in spite of Cromwell's efforts to remove him[43]. At the Restoration, Byam was confirmed in that appointment, and held it until the surrender of Surinam, by the treaty of Breda, compelled him to leave it, and remove to Antigua[44].

[42] Antigua and the Antiguans, c. iii.

[43] See p. 85, *ante*.

[44] Antigua, &c. Ib. c. iv. The uncle of the Major Byam here mentioned, was a Chaplain to Charles II., and his faithful companion in the day of adversity. Wood speaks of him in the highest

Slow progress of the Church at first in Antigua.

The Island possessed few attractions for settlers at this period; for, upon the appointment of Sir William Stapleton to its government, in 1672, he preferred making Nevis his abode, and placed the former Island under the charge of a deputy. To this may be attributed the slowness with which the Clergy of our Church found their way into this Colony: for it appears that an Act was passed by the Governor and Council of the Island, in that same year, authorising the solemnization of marriages by any member of their body, or any justice of the peace; and one of the historians of Antigua remarks that such a regulation was necessary, because 'there was yet no established Church erected, or any Clergymen officiating in the Colony[45]. The last remark is not quite accurate; for I find, in a list, kindly supplied by the present Bishop of Antigua to Mr. Byam, and forwarded by the latter gentleman to me, that Mr. Gilbert Ramsey was officiating in the Island from 1634 to 1694. Nevertheless, the general destitution of the ordinances of the Church, which prevailed throughout the settlement, cannot be denied. Colonel Codrington, who was afterwards Governor of the Leeward Islands, arrived in Antigua, in 1672; and the force of his example gave the first strong impulse to the successful exertions of the Colonists[46]. In

Divided into five parishes in 1681.

1681, Antigua was divided into five Parishes, St. Paul's, St. Philip's, St. Peter's, St. John's, and St. Mary's. Churches were then ordered to be erected in them; and a provision for the respective Clergy, to the amount of 16,000 lbs.

terms in his Athenæ Oxonienses, and Echard also, in his History of England, anno 1664.

[45] Ib. p. 43.

[46] Edwards, i. 438.

of sugar and tobacco, was appointed to be paid to them yearly on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24[47]. This was no mere useless framework; for, twenty years afterwards, adverting once more to the Report which has been already mentioned, I find the following notice of

'Antegoa: The English here residing have five Parish Churches, which are of the Church of England;' and the assistance received from the Society, was 'To Mr. Gifford, and other Ministers, 20*l*.'

With respect to the Bahamas, we have already said that New Providence, the chief Island in the group, became a place of refuge for the Nonconformists[48]: a fact, sufficient to account for its not exhibiting, at this period, any evidence of the ministrations of our Church. The Spaniards, in 1641, made themselves masters of it, and inflicted the most brutal cruelties upon the English inhabitants. The latter retook it, in 1666; but the beginning of the next century saw them expelled once more by the joint forces of the French and Spaniards[49].

Of Barbuda, the only remaining settlement made by Warner, which remains unnoticed, I have not yet succeeded in obtaining any information bearing upon our present subject.

The Virgin Islands and Anguilla acquired.

Tobago, St. Vincent's, St. Lucia, and Dominica, were at one time claimed by Charles II.; but they cannot properly be regarded as belonging to the British empire, until the 18th century. The Virgin Islands, of which Tortola is the chief, having been seized upon, in 1666, by a

[47] Antigua, &c. i. 50.

[48] See p. 86, *ante*.

[49] Mont. Martin's Colonies, v. 385.

party of English Buccaneers, who had driven out the Dutch Buccaneers from them, were afterwards annexed by Charles to the Leeward Island government, and granted by him to Sir William Stapleton [50]. Anguilla too was settled in the same year [51], prior to which, a settlement had been made at Honduras by the British logwood-cutters. Our occupancy of that place is now regulated by the treaty made between this country and Spain, in 1763 [52].

Barbados.

The early prosperity and trials of Barbados have been described in a preceding chapter [53]. Its condition during the present reign remains to be considered. Some of the public professions of her rulers, after the Restoration, might warrant the belief that they cherished a sincere desire to spread among her people the knowledge of Christian truth. An Act, passed in 1661, when Humphrey Walrond was Deputy-governor, 'for the encouragement of all faithful ministers in the Pastoral charge within the Island,' has this preamble:

Act for the encouragement of faithful Ministers, 1661.

'Whereas the excellency of spiritual Ministrations transcend all low and earthly distributions, and those that labour in the word and doctrine are worthy of double honour; that all due encouragement may not be wanting to the Ministers of the same within this Island, who shall have or shall undertake a Pastoral charge; Be it

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[50] Edwards, i. 459.

[51] This is the date furnished in the Parliamentary Return relative to our Colonies, inserted in the Appendix (No. IV.) to my first Volume; but Montgomery Martin, in his History of the Colonies, v. 378, makes it as early as 1650.

[52] Ib. 400. See also Preface to Vol. i. p. xiv.

[53] See pp. 50—56, *ante*. It may here be added that the Act for declaring Negro slaves to be Real Estates, was passed April 29, 1668. Hall's Laws of Barbados, p. 64.

therefore enacted and ordained, by the President, Council, and Assembly, and by the authority of the same, That whatsoever arrears of salaries, or stipends, agreed for, or assest, for the use of every respective Minister in the Parish where he executeth his ministerial function, shall be unpaid after the five-and-twentieth day of March next, upon the request of such Ministers to the superior authority here for the time being, attachment do issue for the levying thereof, on the estates and goods of such persons as do owe the same, that satisfaction may be made to the said complainants [54].'

Other clauses follow, in the same Act, framed for the purpose of securing its avowed object; and, under one of them, authority is given to the Vestries and Churchwardens, to augment, as they saw meet, the stipend of their respective ministers, that it might

'yield a comfortable livelihood and encouragement to every one of them, conscionably and carefully, to proceed to the faithful and diligent execution of their Pastoral charge, due respect being to be shewn to the merits of each.'

Hindrances in their way.

Notwithstanding this profession by the rulers of Barbados of their desire to strengthen the hands of the ministers of religion, the result was, in many instances, a grievous failure; and the cause of failure will be found to have arisen out of that state of things which, in my previous notice of the Colony, I represented as fraught with evil. The witness, upon whose evidence our information chiefly rests, is Morgan Godwyn, who had been a Student of Christ Church, Oxford; and, having passed several years of his life, as an ordained minister of our Church, in Virginia, came afterwards to Barbados. A Pamphlet was published by him in London, in 1680, entitled 'The Negro's and

Godwyn's Negro's and Indian's Advocate.

[54] Hall's Laws of Barbados, p. 33.

Indian's Advocate, suing for their admission into the Church, &c.' [55] Its Preface is written in the spirit of one who sets himself to plead earnestly with his countrymen, in behalf of the Negroes and other heathens, at that time, in our West Indian plantations. The body of the work is divided into four chapters; in the first part of which, Godwyn states, that, ever since his arrival in Barbados, his efforts to baptize and train them in the knowledge of Christian truth, had been opposed (1) by those who declared it to be impracticable; (2) by those who regarded it as a work savouring of Popish supererogation, and utterly needless; and (3) by those, the most numerous, who condemned it as likely to be subversive of their own interests and property, and strove to put it down by ridicule. Godwyn ascribes this spirit of Gentilism to the neglect of spiritual ordinances, which had been suffered to continue so long in the Island; and represents it as having acquired, in course of time, such strength, that any one who presumed to oppose its influence, was regarded as a violator of the law. The Planters vindicated their treatment of the Negro, by saying, that, although he bore the resemblance of a man, he had not the qualities of a man; a conceit, of which Godwyn boldly asserts, 'atheism and irreligion were the parents, and sloth and avarice the foster nurses.' The enemies of our Church, as was to be expected, had been quick to detect these evils, and upbraid her for their continuance; and Godwyn mentions particularly an 'officious Quaker,' who had put into his hand 'a petty Reformado Pamphlet,' upon

[55] Although published in London, the work had been prepared abroad, for Godwyn asks, in the Preface, for indulgence on account of its having been 'written *in terrâ barbarâ*.'

this subject; in which the question was asked, 'Who made you ministers of the Gospel to the White people only, and not to the Tawneys and Blacks also?' It was further declared therein that a connivance at such a state of things was alike condemned by the Holy Scriptures, by the Book of Common Prayer which the Clergy were bound to observe, and by their own ordination vows. Godwyn patiently admits that this reproach was not without a cause; and, although he believed that the writer of the Pamphlet in question was influenced rather by a desire to cast blame upon our Church than really to vindicate the rights of the Negro race, he applies himself, with all sincerity and zeal, to do what he could to wipe off the stain. Accordingly, he applies himself to prove the three following propositions.

(1) 'That the Negroes, both slaves and others, have naturally an equal right with other men to the exercise and privileges of religion: of which it is most unjust in any part to deprive them.'

(2) 'That the profession of Christianity absolutely obliging to the promoting of it, no difficulties nor inconveniences, how great soever, can excuse the neglect, much less the hindering or opposing of it, which is in effect no better than a renunciation of that profession.'

(3) 'That the inconveniences here pretended for this neglect, being examined, will be found nothing such, but rather the contrary.'

The arguments of Godwyn, in support of each of these propositions, are pursued, through a variety of subdivisions, which, if I attempted to condense, I should be led into a review of the whole book. I will only observe, therefore, that, whilst they will amply repay any attention which may be bestowed upon them, Godwyn strove, by acts not less than words, to overcome the stubborn barriers of prejudice that were

before him; and was content to bear the storm of reproaches and taunts which fell upon him, as often as he sought to give to the poor Negro the benefit of any ordinance of the Gospel of Christ. His brother Clergy in the Island helped him in the same cause; and he quotes a passage from a Sermon, delivered by one of them, in which it was thus pleaded:

Sermon of one of the Barbados Clergy, in behalf of the Negro.

'That we may not too proudly insult these people [the Negroes], and resolve against them,—that, like the mountains of Gilboa, no dews nor showers of grace were to fall upon those parched fields; or, like the barren fig-tree, they were smitten with a perpetual curse; —we find them admitted into the Church upon the first dawning of the Gospel. And (Acts viii.) we reade the holy Spirit of God to be no less than thrice particularly concerned, and acting for the salvation of the Æthiopian Treasurer; a condescension so extraordinary and rare, that few, either men or nations, can boast of the like. Wherefore, if St. Peter could, from one single example, infer the salvation of all the heathen, what should hinder, but from the Eunuch's ready submission and hearty acceptance of the heavenly doctrine, we also may infer the calling and conversion of all the Negroes? And, since that God who knoweth the hearts bare him witness, and did put no difference between him and other Gentiles, but purified his heart by faith, Why tempt we God, in detaining them in bondage to Hell (no less than to ourselves) for whom Christ died and redeemed them from thence?'

And then, having referred to the case of Ebedmelech the Ethiopian, spoken of in Jeremiah (xxxviii. and xxxix.), the preacher thus concludes:

'Both which being considered, it is most evident (to use St. Peter's words in his discourse to Cornelius,) "that to them also God hath granted repentance unto life;" that they have souls to be saved no less than other people; and an equal right even with us to the merits of Christ. Of which, if, through our neglect or avarice, they be deprived, that judgment, which was denounced against wicked Ahab, must befal us: our life shall go for theirs:

the loss of their souls will be required at our hands, to whom God hath given so blessed an opportunity of being instrumental to their salvation [56].'

The delivery of this Sermon exposed its preacher to most barbarous usage; and another of the Clergy, who, upon another occasion, urged from the pulpit the like duty, was treated with like severity by the Planters. The Negroes, in consequence of these efforts on the part of the Clergy of Barbados to help them, were exposed to still more brutal treatment. One of these instances shall be related in Godwyn's own words:

Ill treatment of the Negroes.

'His crime being neither more nor less than receiving Baptism upon a Sunday morning at his Parish Church, from the hands of the Minister thereof: Who was said afterwards to excuse himself thus, That he could not deny it, being demanded of him. But the Negro, at his return, did not escape so easily. The brutish overseer instantly taking him to task, and giving him to understand that that was no Sunday work for those of his complexion; that he had other business for him, the neglect whereof would cost him an afternoon's baptism in blood (these I heard were his very words), as in the morning he had received a baptism with water; which he accordingly made good. Of which the Negro afterwards complaining to the Minister, and he to the Governor, the miserable wretch was for ever after so unmercifully treated by that inhuman devil, that, to avoid his cruelty, betaking himself to the woods, he there perished [57].'

The taunting observation which Godwyn represents himself to have received from an 'officious Quaker,' with reference to the Negroes, will remind the reader of the persevering zeal with which the members of that body stood forward, in every place, as the censors

[56] Godwyn, ut sup. 77, 78. The words of the Jews, Acts xi. 18, are here erroneously ascribed to St. Peter.

[57] Ib. 112, 113. 166.

of the world, and the impetus which their zeal derived from the persecutions to which they were then exposed in England and elsewhere. The history of George Fox supplies abundant illustration of this fact; and they who are acquainted with the pages of his curious Journal, will remember that Barbados was not the least remarkable of the scenes in which the energies of himself and of his brethren were displayed. Her rulers put forth their strength to check them; and passed Acts, in 1676 and 1678, for the express purpose of preventing Quakers, under severe penalties, from bringing Negroes to their meetings [58]. The former of these contained also a clause, that no person should be allowed to keep a school, unless he first took the oath of allegiance and supremacy; and I refer to it here, for the purpose of exposing the unworthy comment made upon it by the author of the Short History of Barbados, who observes that it 'was a precaution perhaps not impolitic in a Colony where labour was of more utility than learning.' If, indeed, they who observed this precaution had supplied, cheerfully and effectually, from their own resources, that teaching of needful truth to the Negro race, which they would not allow them to learn from Nonconformists, it might have been a justification of the course pursued by them. Upon such ground, the authors of the celebrated Code Noir of France defended the exclusive character of its enactments [59]. But, to debar the whole Negro population

Acts of the Barbados Legislature against Quakers.

[58] Hall's Laws, 97—102.

[59] 'We forbid,' say they, in the third Article, 'the public exercise of any other than the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion:' and the fourth Article declares that, 'no one shall be appointed an overseer of Negroes who does not profess the Catholic,

from gaining instruction elsewhere, whilst they set up such hindrances, as those which Godwyn describes, in the way of their receiving it from the authorised teachers of our own Church, was to inflict the heaviest injustice upon them and upon the Church which was answerable for their souls. The evil stopped not here; for familiarity with this injustice soon made men insensible to its enormity; and other writers, in the next century, imitated him to whom we have referred, in their contemptuous disregard of any and every effort made to bring the Negroes to embrace Christianity [60].

But a heavier trial, than any which the Clergy of Barbados had to experience from the railing accusations of Quakers [61], or the brutal conduct of Over-

Apostolic, and Romish religion.' Herein was the exclusiveness to which the enactments of our West India Code bear a close resemblance. But then, the second Article had made the important provision to which we shall seek in vain for any parallel in our own Colonial legislation: 'All slaves that are in our islands shall be baptized, and instructed in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion;' and all purchasers of newly imported slaves were required to give notice thereof, within eight days, to the governor or intendant, who were to issue 'the necessary orders for causing them to be baptized, and instructed, at convenient times.' Long's History of Jamaica, iii. Appendix; where the Code Noir, published at Versailles, in 1685, is given at length.

[60] Among these writers, Oldmixon may be mentioned as the most conspicuous. Burke has justly rebuked him for indulging in such representations, saying that he 'cannot conceive with what face any body, who pretends to inform the public, can set up as an advocate for irreligion, barbarism, and gross ignorance.' Account of European Settlements, &c. ii. 130.

[61] These accusations, even where a specious pretext for them existed, were often advanced with a presumptuous boldness more calculated to irritate than to convince. And, in many instances, they were mere groundless assertions: witness the gross and shame-

seers, was the thraldom under which they were held by Parochial Vestries. The instance, above cited from Godwyn [62], of the necessity, laid upon the Clergyman who baptized a Negro, to vindicate himself, in a tone of apology, for having done that act, is one signal proof of this oppression. And it stands not alone. It was part of a vicious system, which every where prevailed with regard to Church government in the Island, at this time. Godwyn confirms strongly the truth of my former remarks respecting it, when he says with reference to the above narrative;

Godwyn's censure of the Parochial Vestries of Barbados.

'Here we may reade the evil consequence of making Ministers annual Stipendiaries, and of subjecting them to the arbitrary talons of Vestries, made up for the most part of sordid plebeians, the very dregs of the English nation, with whom to be truly conscientious is the height of madness and folly; and whose displeasure, even of any of them, though in the most righteous cause, doth portend the parties most certaine ruine.'

Other outrages against truth and decency, springing from the same source, are likewise enumerated by him. He describes one man, for instance, not in Holy Orders, as undertaking to baptize, or marry, or

Grievous irregularities.

'do any office where money was to be got; the Minister being not able to prevent him; the Vestries (who are our supreme Church-Governours) not favouring their complaints, or being themselves not willing to be confined. Nor have the Ministers much cause to be displeased; themselves (especially the more popular) usually taking the liberty of their neighbours' Parishes and Pulpits upon all occasions, both without and against the Proprietor's consent.'

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ful calumny against the Barbados Clergy, in 1664, which Sewel has thought fit to repeat in his History of the Quakers, i. 445.

[62] See p. 301, *ante*.

In many parts of the Island, he says, that Baptism, Marriages, Churchings, and Burials, were

'either totally omitted, or else performed by the overseers, in a kind of prophane merriment, and derision as it were of the ordinances.'

He refrains from inserting the Order of Visitation of the Sick in the above list, because it was laid aside in a manner by all, except the richer English. There were only five Clergy in the whole Island; and thus six out of the eleven Churches then built in it were without any appointed ministers. Godwyn himself forbore to accept the charge of any Parish in Barbados; feeling that he could not do so, as long as they were subject to such tyrannical controul. He urges strongly the necessity of appointing

'one person or more, as agents for each Colony, to represent the grievances of the Church and Ministers to the Government of England, it having been hitherto found to very little purpose to make complaints there.'

Here then is further evidence, of a different kind, indeed, from that adverted to in the case of Jamaica, but not less weighty, to prove the evils experienced from the want of a Colonial Episcopate.

The exhortation, with which, in spite of all the adverse influences against him, Godwyn concludes his appeal, is expressed in terms of deepest pathos:

'Of what may yet be the issue, (he says,) I shall not enquire, but rest satisfied that I have done what I could, and delivered my soul, which I must declare that otherwise I could not. And no less shall comfort myself, that, whatsoever shall be the success, either through any neglect at home or opposition here; and that, though it should happen, which I trust it cannot, (truth being most powerful, and must prevail,) that I should labour in vain, and

spend my strength for nought, yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God. Amen [63].'

The claims of Godwyn upon our gratitude.

Let not the words of Morgan Godwyn be forgotten. Other men have since echoed the same righteous appeal; and, by their repeated remonstrances, the Negro, in our West Indian Islands, has, at length, been freed from bondage. But, let it always be remembered that the first effort to accomplish this end, was made by this Clergyman of the Church of England, and under circumstances of deepest discouragement. Clarkson himself acknowledges this fact in the most unqualified manner. He admits that Bishop Sanderson, and others, had before borne their testimony in general terms, against the lawfulness of trading in the persons of men; and that Baxter, afterwards, in his Christian Directory, where he gives rules for the masters of slaves in foreign Plantations, repeated the same protest. But, above and before all these, Clarkson awards most justly the palm to Morgan Godwyn [64].

The connexion which we shall find existed between Godwyn and Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, might naturally lead us to resume here our notice of that province. But, as the history of Virginia is closely connected with that of Maryland, and these, in their turn, with that of the efforts of the Church at home, to organise and extend spiritual aid to all our foreign possessions at this period, it will be more convenient to defer it to the following chapter. The

[63] Godwyn, ut sup. 104. 114. 136. 154. 166.

[64] Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, i. 45, 46.

remainder of the present chapter will be devoted to the notice of Carolina, another important Colony in North America, settled under Charles II.

CAROLINA.

I have already said, that the first Englishmen who discovered and took possession of the shores of that province, and the islands immediately adjacent, were Amadas and Barlowe, when they went out under the direction of Ralegh, in 1584[65]. But, before that period, Spain had been eager to regard the province as her own; and the fortress of St. Augustine, the capital of East Florida, was a conspicuous sign of the sovereignty which she assumed over the neighbouring continent and isles. France, too, had set foot within its borders, in the person of Verrazzano, the Florentine mariner, who was commissioned by Francis I., in 1524, to explore them; and in the persons of those suffering Protestants, whom the noble Coligny sent out to settle in a part of the country, under Ribaud, in 1562, and others of the same body who went forth for the like purpose, two years afterwards, under Laudonière. Of the conflicts which ensued between these French settlers and their Spanish neighbours, the victories gained alternately on either side, and the necessity which at last compelled the French to abandon the country[66], little was known probably by Ralegh's band of Colonists. At all events, they utterly disregarded the claims, real or pretended, of any European rivals; and, disastrous as were their first attempts to settle in the Island of

Its early history.

[65] See Vol. i. p. 63.

[66] L'Escarbot's History of N. France, quoted by Chalmers, 513, 514.

Roanoak, they yet renewed them, with as much confidence as if there were none to dispute the sovereignty of the English Crown in that quarter. The formal resumption of that sovereignty over the continent off which Roanoak was situated, was not attempted until the fifth year of Charles I., when he made a grant of that portion of the continent which lies between the 31st and 36th parallels of north latitude, under the name of Carolina, to his Attorney-General, Sir Robert Heath. But no trace exists of any effort to plant a Colony there at that time; and the grant was afterwards declared void, by reason of the non-fulfilment of its conditions [67].

Yeardley's intercourse with it.

Meanwhile, different parties from the contiguous Colony of Virginia found their way into the province; some, obeying the authority of the Colonial Legislature to prosecute discoveries in that quarter [68]; and others, following the path which their own adventurous spirit opened to them. The most remarkable of such enterprises was one carried on, in the time of the Commonwealth, by Francis Yeardley, who had been born in Virginia, during his father's government [69]. He relates it in a letter, written May 8, 1654, to John Ferrar, who was then residing upon his property at Little Gidding in Hun-

His remarkable letter to Ferrar describing it.

[67] Chalmers, 515.

[68] Hening, i. 262.

[69] Yeardley, the elder, died in November. 1627, and his widow, Lady Temperance Yeardley, attended a Court held at James City, for the purpose of confirming the conveyance of certain lands made by her late husband. At the same Court, presentments of the minister and churchwardens of Stanley Hundred were delivered under their hands; and also a register of marriages, burials, and christenings. Hening, i. 145.

tingdonshire[70]. Having described the natural productions of the country, he tells the story of a young man, engaged in the beaver trade, to whom, when he had been separated from his own sloop, Yeardley had given a small boat and provisions, and sent him with his party to Roanoak, in the hope of finding his vessel. The young man there fell in with a hunting party of Indians; and so quickly profited by their kind reception of him as to persuade them, and some of the other neighbouring tribes, to come and make their peace with the English. In consideration of the assistance received from Yeardley, the young man brought some of these Indians, with 'the great man' or 'emperor' of Roanoak, to Yeardley's house. They passed a week under his roof; and, 'the great man,' seeing the children of Yeardley read and write, asked him whether he would take his only son, and teach him likewise 'to speak out of the book, and to make a writing.' Yeardley assured him that he would; and the Indian chief, upon his departure,—expressing his strong desire to serve the God of the Englishman, and his hope that his child might be brought up in the knowledge of the same,—promised to bring him again to Yeardley 'in four moons.' Meanwhile, Yeardley had been called away to Maryland; and the English inhabitants of the settlement, suspecting, from the frequent visits and enquiries of the Indian, that Yeardley was carrying on some scheme for his own private advantage, treated the poor chief with great harshness. Upon one occasion, when Yeardley's wife had brought him to Church, 'some over busy

[70] Thurloe, ii. 273. The letter bears this address, and also the following endorsement by Thurloe: 'A letter concerning the West Indies, delivered to me by Mr. Farrar.'

justices of the place,' it is said, 'after sermon, threatened to whip him, and sent him away;' whereat 'the great man' is described to have been much appalled; and Yeardley's wife, taking him by the hand, resolutely stood forward in his defence, and pledged her whole property for the truth of her assertion, that no harm to the settlement was intended, or was likely to arise, from the Indian's alliance. Upon Yeardley's return from Maryland, he dispatched, with his brother's assistance, a boat with six hands, one being a carpenter, to build 'the great man' an English house, according to a promise made by him to that effect; and also a supply of £200 sterling, for the purchase of territory. The terms of the purchase were soon agreed upon by Yeardley's people; 'and they paid for three great rivers, and also all such others as they should like of southerly;' and, in solemn manner, took possession of the country, in the name, and on the behalf of the Commonwealth of England; receiving, as a symbol of its surrender, a turf of earth with an arrow shot into it. The territory, thus yielded by the natives, was that which became afterwards the province of Carolina; and, as soon as they had withdrawn from it to a region further south, Yeardley built 'the great commander a fair house,' which he promised to 'furnish with English utensils and chattels.' Through the same agency, Yeardley's people had been introduced to the emperor of the Tuskarorawes, who received them courteously, and invited them to a country of which he spoke in most alluring terms; but, owing to the illness of their interpreter, the offer could not be accepted. Upon the completion of the English house for the Roanoak chief, he came with the Tuskarorawe prince and forty-five

others to Yeardley's house; presented his wife and son to be baptized with himself; and offered again the same symbol of the surrender of his whole country to Yeardley; and he, tendering the same to the Commonwealth of England, prayed only that his 'own property and pains might not be forgotten.' The Indian child was then solemnly presented to the minister, before the congregation; and, having been baptized in their presence, was left with Yeardley 'to be bred up a Christian, which God grant him grace (he prays) to become.' Yeardley next enumerates the charges incurred by him in this business, amounting to more than £300; and expresses an earnest hope that he should 'not want assistance from good patriots, either by their good words or purses.' He then adds, 'If you think good to acquaint the States with what is done by two Virginians born, you will honour our country;' and in conclusion, begs to kiss the hands of his correspondent, 'with the fair hands of' his 'virtuous countrywoman, the worthily to be honoured Mrs. Virginia Farrar.'

Remarks thereon.

The surnames of the writer and receiver of this letter, the Christian name of the lady mentioned at its conclusion, and the address which it bears, 'At the mannor of Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire,' all prove that the descendants of the first Planters of the Colony of Virginia, were still interested in watching and promoting her welfare. They remind us not only of the difficulties and dangers which those men then encountered abroad and at home; but also of the sequestered sanctuary in which Nicholas Ferrar devoted to the service of his heavenly Master that patient and active zeal which before he had displayed so conspicuously

in the House of Commons and Council Chamber of the Virginia Company[71]. This fact alone is sufficient to excite our interest, as we pass along. But the interest thus excited is succeeded by feelings of a very different nature, at finding that a change has come over the hearts of those who now bore the names of Yeardley and of Ferrar. Yeardley's father had been a true-hearted member of the Church of England; indeed, the follower of the noble De la Warr, the companion of the saintly Whitaker, could scarcely have failed to walk in their steps. And, with respect to John Ferrar, to whom Yeardley's letter is addressed,—if, as I believe, he were the elder and still surviving brother of Nicholas[72],—what brighter ex-

[71] See Vol. i. pp. 292, 293.

[72] John Ferrar was alive at the time of his brother's death in 1637; and compiled not only the original MS. from which Dr. Peckard's Memoirs of his brother are taken, but wrote also the MS. Memoir of his own son Nicholas, who died in 1640. This MS. is now in Lambeth Library (No. 251); and Dr. Wordsworth, in the extracts made from it in his Ecclesiastical Biography (iv. 208, *note*,) has assigned its date to the year 1653,—the year before that in which Yeardley's letter was written. It is probable, however, that John Ferrar lived even four years longer; for in the Register of Burials, &c. of the Parish of Little Gidding, with a copy of which I was favoured, through the kindness of the present Rector, the Rev. W. Whall, I find the following entry: 'Sept. 28, 1657. John Ferrar, Esq.;' and Mr. Whall informed me that the grave of John Ferrar occupies the exact spot which Nicholas marked out for him, in such touching terms, three days before his own death. (Wordsworth, ut sup. iv. 204, *note*.) There seems no reason therefore to doubt that the John Ferrar, to whom Yeardley's letter was addressed in 1654, was he whose burial is recorded in 1657, namely, the elder brother of Nicholas. I may also remark, that this John Ferrar was married to Bathsheba, daughter of Mr. Owen (Wordsworth, ut sup. iv. 207); and I find an entry in the Parish Register recording the burial of 'Virginia,

ample of stedfast piety could have been displayed to the eyes of any man, than that which he had witnessed in the person of that brother? Yet, the eagerness, with which Yeardley takes possession of the newly-acquired province 'in the name of the Commonwealth of England;' the promptitude, with which he writes tidings of that event to John Ferrar; the hope, which he at the same time expresses, that he should 'not want assistance from good patriots, either by their good words or purses;' and the willingness, with which Ferrar promotes Yeardley's views, by delivering his letter into the hands of Thurloe, the Protector's Secretary; all lead inevitably to the conclusion, that the love, which Yeardley and Ferrar ought both to have retained towards the holy Mother in whose bosom they were nurtured, had waxed cold in that day of her adversity; that they had ceased to regard her with that devotion, which once distinguished the men who had borne their honoured names; and were even found siding with her enemies and oppressors. The pressure of those 'sad times,' which Nicholas Ferrar had seen approaching, and of which he spake, upon his dying bed, in terms of such deep solemnity, to his brother John, had been too great for the survivor. The exhortation, which, in that parting hour, John had received from his brother, 'to adhere to the doctrine and practice of the Church of England,' and to beware of the 'arrant novelty both of Popery and of Puritanism,' must have been wholly set at nought; or he would not have been so forward to strengthen the hands of men

daughter of John Ferrar and Bathsheba his wife, Jan. 17, 1687.' This Virginia is, doubtless, the lady to whom Yeardley refers at the end of his letter.

who had plundered the endowments, proscribed the Liturgy, defiled the sanctuaries, and driven forth with scorn the ministers of that Church. Moreover, the fact here presented to our notice, that John Ferrar was again resident at Little Gidding, shows that the violence, which had so lately expelled him and his family from that abode, and robbed and defaced the Church belonging to it[73], had been succeeded by an indulgence to return; an indulgence, which argues something more than mere formal submission to the power of the Protector. And, as for Yeardley, the whole tone of his letter, as well as the facts described in it, prove that he was, with heart and soul, doing the work of Cromwell; and, that, if the Church, which his father had sought so earnestly to set up in the first Transatlantic Colony of England, were regarded by him at all, it was only with indifference or contempt. True, he speaks of the baptism of the Indian child having been administered in the face of the Virginian congregation; but its administration was probably not according to the Order appointed by our Church. For, notwithstanding that Berkeley[74] had succeeded in gaining for Virginia generally a longer respite, than was obtained in any other quarter, from the decree prohibiting all use of the Prayer Book; it can hardly be supposed, that, in a part of the province in which one of the chief settlers was so anxious to propitiate the rulers of the Commonwealth, every thing would not be conducted in such manner only as those rulers had decreed.

With respect to the mode by which the province

[73] Macdonogh's Life of Ferrar, 181. 218.

[74] See p. 19, *ante*.

in question thus passed into the possession of the Commonwealth, I know not how it can fail to create the same feelings of regret and disapproval, which attend the recital of well-nigh every effort, which has been made to extend our empire, whether in the New or Old World. In some respects, indeed, it has a fair appearance; it is free from any stain of violence and blood, and professes to have been carried forward with a desire to spread the knowledge of Christianity among the Indians. So far, the narrative presents a remarkable contrast to many which have preceded and will follow it. But, what jugglery can be conceived baser, than that of bribing the simple and unsuspecting Indian to part with all the richness of his native territory, its mountains, forests, rivers, harbours, islands, for the price of an English house, and its glittering toys; or for the receipt of English money, of which the value was to him utterly unknown?

English settlers in Carolina.

The earliest English settlers in Carolina, to whom the way of access was thus opened, gathered themselves, in the first instance, around the north-east bank of the river Chowan, which, formed by the confluence of three rivers running from Virginia, falls into Albemarle Sound. A grant of 10,000 acres was made by the Virginia Assembly, soon after the date of Yeardley's letter, to the first 100 persons who should seat themselves in that district; and another of 1000 acres to 'Roger Greene, clarke,' who, upon his own petition, requested leave to settle there[75]. But no traces remain of the proceedings of him, or of any others, who

[75] Hening, i. 380.

resorted thither during the Commonwealth. Meanwhile, the year of the Restoration was marked by the arrival of another party in the vicinity of the same region, who acted without any regard to the authority either of Virginia, or of England. They belonged to the Puritan Colony of Massachusetts; and, following no other guidance but that of their own arbitrary and independent will, settled at Cape Fear, about two degrees south of Albemarle Sound.

The first Carolina Charter, 1662-3.

I call attention to these facts, that we may see the difficulties which were ready to spring up in the way of colonising Carolina, under the Charter which Charles II. granted, March 24, 1662-3. The scheme, propounded in that document, was grand and imposing; but every thing which could obstruct its progress was already in operation in the country for which it was designed. Its avowed objects were 'the propagation of the Christian faith, and the enlargement of the King's empire;' and, to secure these, the amplest privileges and jurisdictions were conferred upon the eight following 'Lords Proprietors,' Lord Chancellor Clarendon; Monk, Duke of Albemarle; William, Lord Craven; John, Lord Berkeley; Anthony, Lord Ashley, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards the first Earl of Shaftesbury; Sir George Carteret, then Vice-Chamberlain; Sir William Berkeley, then Governor of Virginia; and Sir John Colleton. After granting to them, their heirs and assigns, the whole territory lying between the 31st and 36th degrees of north latitude, the Charter further secured to them, by the 3rd Article, the

Its provisions re-

'Patronage and advowsons of all the churches and chapels, which, as the Christian religion shall increase

within the country, isles, and limits aforesaid, shall happen hereafter to be erected, together with licence and power to build and found churches, chapels, and oratories, in convenient and fit places, within the said bounds and limits, and to cause them to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England, together with all and singular the like and as ample Rights, Jurisdictions, Privileges, Prerogatives, Royalties, Liberties, Immunities, and Franchises, of what kind soever, within the countries, isles, islets, and limits aforesaid.' Respecting the Church,

The same Palatinate jurisdiction, which has been noticed in the Charters of Maryland and Maine, was conferred upon the Proprietors, accompanied with the condition of paying yearly to the King twenty marks, and the fourth part of whatsoever gold or silver might be discovered in the country.

The following enactment of the 18th Article, touching the conduct to be pursued towards those who were not in communion with the Church of England, deserves notice, as showing the policy first pursued at the time of the Restoration: And those not in communion with her.

'And, because it may happen that some of the people and inhabitants of the said province, cannot in their private opinions conform to the public exercises of religion according to the Liturgy, Forms and Ceremonies of the Church of England, or take and subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalf, and for that the same, by reason of the remote distances of these places, will, we hope, be no breach of the unity and uniformity established in this nation, Our will and pleasure therefore is, and we do by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Edward, &c., their heirs and assigns, full and free licence, liberty, and authority, by legal ways and means as they shall think fit, to give and grant unto such person and persons, inhabiting and being within the said Province, or any other part thereof, who really in their judgments and for conscience sake, cannot or shall not conform to the said Liturgy and Ceremonies,

and take and subscribe the Oaths and Articles aforesaid, or any of them, such indulgences and dispensations in that behalf, for and during such time and times, and with such limitations and restrictions, as they, the said Edward, &c., shall in their discretion think fit and reasonable; and with this express provision and limitation also that such person and persons, to whom such indulgences and dispensations shall be granted as aforesaid, do and shall, from time to time, declare and continue all fidelity and loyalty and obedience to us, our heirs and successors, and be subject and obedient to all other the laws, ordinances, and constitutions of the said Province, in all matters whatsoever, as well ecclesiastical as civil, and do not in any wise disturb the peace and safety thereof, or scandalize and reproach the said Liturgy, Forms, or Ceremonies, or any thing relating thereunto, or any person or persons whatsoever, for or in respect of his or their use or exercise thereof, or his or their obedience or conformity thereunto [76].'

Like instructions were repeated to Sir John Yeamans, a Royalist, who, in January, 1664-5, arrived in Carolina from Barbados, with a band of emigrants as needy as himself, and obtained a grant of land, named Clarendon, with a separate jurisdiction, near the settlement which the emigrants from Massachusetts had established at Cape Fear. He was directed to do every thing in his power to encourage emigration from the same stronghold of Puritanism; a short-sighted policy, since the majority of those, who would be likely to come thence into his district, were men whose political and religious prejudices were altogether opposed to his own [77].

To Berkeley, the brave and loyal Governor of Virginia, was first entrusted, the arduous task of controuling the various and discordant materials of which the new Colony was composed [78]: and he appointed

[76] The first Carolina Charter, prefixed to the Statutes at large, edited under authority of the Legislature. Columbia, U. S. 1836.

[77] Chalmers, 521.

[78] Ib. 553—555.

William Drummond its first Governor. But the history of Carolina, at this period, is so scanty, that, but for the insertion of Drummond's name and office among the Commissioners appointed, under an Act of the Virginia Assembly, in 1666, to stop the growth of tobacco for one year[79], it would have been difficult to ascertain even the fact of his appointment.

Drummond the first Governor of Carolina.

Before any progress could be made in accomplishing the objects proposed by the first Charter of Carolina, a second was granted, in 1665, to the same Proprietors, enlarging, to an enormous extent, the limits of the country originally assigned to them; confirming all their former privileges; and bestowing upon them others yet more large and absolute. The boundaries, which it laid down, were the 29th and 36th parallels of north latitude, and a line westward as far as the South Seas[80]. In other words, it marked out for this single Colony all that territory which now comprises the States of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississipi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, and parts of Florida, Texas, and Mexico. Merely to announce such a design is to demonstrate its utter vanity. It was an attempt to raise the superstructure of a huge empire, for which no foundation had been laid; an assumption of absolute rule

Its second Charter, 1665.

[79] Hening, ii. 226. Bancroft, ii. 136, supposes that Drummond was a Presbyterian, but gives no authority for the opinion. Bearing in mind the course of ecclesiastical affairs at home, and the character of the Proprietors of Carolina, I cannot think it probable that the government of that Colony should, at such a crisis, have been entrusted to a Presbyterian.

[80] Carolina Statutes, ut sup.

over countries, to the possession of which no right whatsoever had been established. Failure, therefore, was as inevitable as it was deserved. And, hence, it is with no hopeful feelings that we read, in the 3rd and 18th Articles of this Charter, the same provisions with respect to the Church and those who were not in communion with her, which have been noticed in the corresponding Articles of the former Charter. We are forced to look upon the recital of them only as vain words. It is impossible to believe that any portion of the work, therein proposed to be done, could even be commenced upon such a basis, and at such a time.

Constitutions drawn up by Locke, 1669.

The celebrated Locke, indeed, gave the support of his name and counsel to the Colony of Carolina. He did this, at the request of one of the most influential of the Proprietors, Lord Ashley, whose acquaintance he had first formed at Oxford, in 1666; having been summoned, in his medical capacity, to visit that nobleman when he was suffering from severe illness. An intimate friendship between them soon followed; upon the strength of which, Locke drew up certain laws, bearing date March 1, 1669, and entitled 'The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina[81].' But the wisdom of the philosopher availed as little as the authority of the statesman towards the prosecution of a work, for which there were neither the materials nor instruments fitted to bring it to a successful issue. Locke strove, indeed, to keep up the same lordly pretensions which had distinguished the Royal Charters; reciting, in the preamble of the document, the privi-

[81] Locke's Life prefixed to his Works, i. xxiv. xxv.

leges of the Palatinate conferred upon the Proprietors, and enumerating, in the body of the Constitutions themselves, the various offices proposed to be erected under their authority,—not only those already known in England of Chamberlain, Chancellor, High-steward, &c., but others to be bestowed upon the future nobles of Carolina, who were to receive the titles of Signors, and Landgraves, or Cassiques, and to whom, in various order and degree, the rights belonging to the territorial divisions of their several baronies, stretching over thousands and thousands of acres, were ordered to be secured.

Provisions contained therein on the subject of religion.

Amid these and many other high-sounding schemes of Colonial dominion, all destined to be as abortive in their issue, as they were ostentatious in their promise, occurs the following Constitution, the 96th, respecting the Church:

'As the country comes to be sufficiently planted, and distributed into fit divisions, it shall belong to the Parliament to take care for the building of Churches, and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion, according to the Church of England; which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominions, is so also of Carolina; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance, by grant of Parliament.'

Some such enactment as this was to be looked for by any one who bears in mind the terms of the 3rd Article, upon the same subject, which occurs in both the Carolina Charters; and the limitations, provided for those not in communion with the Church, against any injustice or hardship which might result to them from the operation of such an enactment, will also be fresh in the recollection of the reader who has noted

the terms of the 18th Article, just now cited from the same Charters. Doubtless, it was open to any one, who denied the truth and justice of the propositions contained in the 3rd Article, to controvert them; and, if he could not approve of the Charter which embodied and gave authority to them, his obvious duty would have been to refrain from sharing either its present responsibility or future advantages. But this was not the course which Locke followed. He went along with the promoters of the scheme, apparently in perfect unison; undertook, at the instigation of one of the chief Proprietors, to give effect to the vast powers with which they were entrusted; and actually consented to receive, in his own person, a share of the honours and profits which were likely to arise, by being created a Landgrave, or Cassique, of Carolina [82].

Locke's views respecting it.

It is difficult, therefore, to understand the grounds upon which the statement has been made by his biographer and editor of his works, that Locke objected to the insertion of the 96th Constitution. For, if the statement be true, it was nothing else than objecting to a corollary inevitably deduced from the propositions laid down in the only instrument which gave to him, or to any person interested in the welfare of Carolina, any right of ownership and dominion. There is a vagueness also and inconsistency, in the manner in which the above statement has been made, which gives further cause to doubt its correctness. The editor declares, in a note at the foot of the page which recites the passage, that 'Mr. Locke himself informed one of his friends, to

[82] Chalmers, 523.

whom he presented a copy of these Constitutions,' that 'this article was not drawn up by' him; 'but inserted by some of the chief Proprietors against his judgment [83].' Whereas, in the history of his life, prefixed to his works, it is said, that he 'had formed articles relative to religion and public worship, on those liberal and enlarged principles of toleration which were so agreeable to the sentiments of his enlightened mind; but some of the Clergy, jealous of such provisions as might prove an obstacle to their ascendancy, expressed their disapprobation of them, and procured an additional article to be inserted, securing the countenance and support of the state only to the exercise of religion according to the discipline of the Established Church [84].' These statements do not agree with each other. The Clergy were not the Proprietors; nor had they any thing whatsoever to do with the formation or management of the Colony. True, some among them might once have had influence with Clarendon; and he, being 'one of the chief Proprietors,' may be said to have procured the insertion of the clause in question. But this was not possible; for he had fallen into disgrace, and left the kingdom, towards the end of the year 1667 [85]; whereas the Constitutions of Carolina were not drawn up by Locke until the spring of 1669. Neither was it at all probable that such a project would have been urged by Ashley, the friend of Locke, and second only to Clarendon in his influence among the Proprietors; for his enmity against Clarendon [86], and the diversity

[83] Locke's Works, x. 194.
[84] Ib. i. xxv. xxvi.
[85] Life of Clarendon, iii. 332.
[86] Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, iii. 304.

of their opinions and characters, are a sufficient warrant for believing that he would rather have hindered, than promoted, any designs which might have been thought acceptable to Clarendon or his friends. It seems reasonable, therefore, that we should possess some more definite information than any which, as far as I can learn, has yet been made public, before we can acquiesce in the truth of the above statement respecting Locke's views upon this subject.

Some other of the Constitutions here call for a brief remark, being evidently framed for the purpose of ensuring the full and faithful observance of the 18th Article of the Charters, by which it was hoped that civil peace might be preserved, amid diversity of opinions. The 95th, for instance, was to this effect:

'No man shall be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God; and that God is publicly and solemnly to be worshipped.'

And by the 97th, it was provided that

'Any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion, shall constitute a church or profession, to which they shall give some name, to distinguish it from others.'

But, whilst this free liberty was given to men's opinions, and other enactments, following the above, were added to guard it from violation, it was still enjoined, that

'No person above seventeen years of age, shall have any benefit or protection of the law, or be capable of any place of profit or honour, who is not a member of some church or profession, having his name recorded in some one, and but one religious record, at once.'

And further, the power of the civil registrar, in each

signiory and barony, was so entirely to supersede every other, that

'No marriage' could be accounted 'lawful, whatever contract or ceremony they might have used, till both the parties mutually owned it before the register of the place where they were married, and the entry, in due form, had been made by him [87].'

And slavery.

Two more of the Constitutions, relating to slavery, also demand attention. In the 107th, after reciting the general principles that 'charity obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men,' and that 'religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil estate and right,' it is declared to be

'lawful for slaves, as well as others, to enter themselves and be of what church or profession any of them shall think best, and thereof be as fully members as any freeman.'

But, instead of holding out any prospect of freedom from slavery, or providing any securities by which the harshness and tyranny of hard masters might be restrained, it is stated, at the end of the same Article, and again more explicitly in the 110th, that

'Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his Negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever.'

No qualifying note is appended by the editor to these Articles to show that Locke was not fully responsible for them. They stand, as if not the slightest apology or explanation were required to account for their appearance. And, it is remarkable, that, at a time when some of the Clergy of the Church of England, both at home and abroad, were endeavouring to mitigate, or put a stop to, the sufferings of slavery in the English Colonies, he, who was so quick

[87] Constitutions civ. and lxxxvii. ut sup.

to censure any doctrine of theirs, which might seem to trench upon the liberty of the subject[88],—even the sagacious and calm philosopher, the zealous upholder of toleration, the vindicator of the rights of conscience,—had not one word of hope or of comfort to speak in defence of the oppressed slave.

Failure of the Proprietary government of Carolina.

The reader, who compares the above Constitutions and Charters with the remote country and differing inhabitants over which they professed to establish their jurisdiction, and observes the contrast between the lofty arrogance of their pretensions, and the wretched weakness and confusion of the differing elements which they essayed to regulate, must feel that the whole scheme would prove a splendid failure. And this it was quickly seen to be. Of the Proprietors, who, with the single exception of Sir William Berkeley, were all far removed from the scene of their imagined grandeur, Clarendon, the most distinguished, was exiled, in 1667, soon after the issuing of the second Charter. In a few years more, Shaftesbury fell into disgrace. The means, therefore, of working the cumbrous machinery of this Colony, were impaired at the outset. Meanwhile, it had become necessary for the temporary Council, which had been convened at Albemarle, then the chief county in the Colony, to enact for their protection such laws as they had authority to frame[89]. The Constitutions sent from England were found inconsistent with the existing order of things. The Colonists refused to submit to them; the Proprietors insisted upon submission; the Go-

[88] See his Letter from a Person of Quality, Works, &c., x. 200. 246.

[89] Chalmers, 524—526.

vernor, Samuel Stevens, who had succeeded Drummond, strove, with the prudence that marked his character, to mediate between the contending parties; but all in vain. The very first pages, therefore, of the history of Carolina speak only of discord and misrule; and, in 1693, the Constitutions of Locke were formally abrogated by the authorities at home. Fresh spaces, indeed, within the vast territory of Carolina were gradually filled up, during those years of anarchy. The pompous title of Palatine, first conferred upon Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and, upon his death, in 1670, transferred to Lord Berkeley, remained a witness of the proud thoughts of those who had assumed this territory as their own. Their names, and the names of the rest of the Proprietors, were successively given to rivers, capes, straits, and counties throughout the province; and the foundations of Charles Town, so called in honour of the King from whom their empty authority was derived, were first laid, in 1671, on the banks of Ashley River. In 1680, the place for the general administration of government was transferred from that to another site, on the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers [90]; and the foundations of a second town were there laid, bearing the name, which it still retains of Charleston, and which is the present metropolis of South Carolina [91]. Thus money, counsel, and labour were freely and unceasingly expended; but, with such fatal jealousy and strife at work between the governors and governed, every hope was at the time disappointed. The general historian has re-

[90] Ib. 528—530. 541. 552; Dalcho, 20.

[91] It was not until 1728 that the territory was divided into North and South Carolina.

corded the details of each humiliating scene[92]; among which those connected with Culpepper's insurrection and acquittal, and the infamous government of Seth Sothel[93], are the most conspicuous. But, as I have sought in vain, among the documents from which these narratives have been drawn, for any information which can throw light upon the present work, I shall dismiss them with this one remark, that, for the space of nearly twenty years from the date of the first Carolina Charter, not a Clergyman was sent to that province[94], nor any visible token set up within its borders to show that it was the possession of a Christian country. Howsoever the circumstances which have been related above may explain the cause of this, the fact is not to be denied.

Emigration of Huguenots.

Before I close this chapter, it is important to notice the emigration of the Huguenots into some of the southern parts of Carolina, at the end of the reign of Charles II. We have already seen an asylum opened for them in Jamaica, and Bishop Compton interesting himself in the measures there taken for their relief[95]. But the renewal of the same fact in the history of Carolina, and the character of those events in the history of France, which led to the expression of this sympathy with so many of her distressed subjects, makes it necessary to advert more minutely to their condition. The preceding century (1572) had already witnessed the murderous vengeance with which the Roman Catholic rulers of France

[92] Chalmers, 527—529.

[93] He had become a Proprietor of Carolina by purchasing the rights of Lord Clarendon; and was Governor of that province from 1683 to 1688. Bancroft, ii. 159—164.

[94] Chalmers, 525.

[95] See p. 291, *ante*.

persecuted those of its inhabitants who dared to assume the name of Protestant; and the horrors which Paris then witnessed, on the feast of St. Bartholomew, renewed, with circumstances of like atrocity, in the various provinces of France, were deemed by Gregory XIII. worthy of being celebrated by a public jubilee [96]. A few years afterwards,—oppression having failed to destroy the Huguenots,—a different policy was pursued towards them; and, at length, in 1598, the celebrated edict of Nantes, granted by Henry IV., secured to them not only the most ample toleration of their religious worship, but many important political rights. But this was only for a time. The jealousy of their enemies was still awake; their own injudicious zeal quickened it oftentimes into fierce action; and, in the reign of Louis XIII., all the resources of Richelieu, his minister, were brought to bear against them. After enduring the worst miseries of a long siege, Rochelle, their chief stronghold, was taken from them, and annexed to the French crown. As soon as their energies had been thus broken, every method, which a dexterous policy could suggest, was employed to bribe, or terrify, them into submission to Rome: but in vain. At length, in 1685, under the administration of Colbert, who had succeeded Mazarin in the office of minister to Louis XIV., the edict of Nantes was revoked; and the Huguenots were left a prey to the persecutor. Thousands of them fell beneath the sword; others were consigned to the lash, or to the galleys; others were made to suffer tortures yet more horrible, and that, without any distinction of age, or rank, or sex; others perished in the mountains, whi-

[96] Strype's Life of Parker, iii. App. No. lxviii.

ther they had fled for shelter. The law made it felony that any should attempt to escape; nevertheless, multitudes made good their flight,—some have computed them at an amount of more than 400,000,—and found, amid the various nations of Europe, and in England and her Colonies, a safe refuge from the destroyer. Carrying with them their knowledge and skill in manufacturing and mechanical arts, they repaid, by the introduction of these into the different countries in which they found a resting place, that generous sympathy, which, without the hope or prospect of any such return, had been extended to them [97].

[97] Browning's History of the Huguenots, in loc. There was one, appointed to a high trust by Louis XIV., whose counsels, if they had been listened to, would have restrained that King from inflicting such cruel injustice upon his Huguenot subjects. I mean the prelate, to whose care he had confided the education of his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, and heir of the French crown,—the wise and pious Fénélon. The following admirable passage occurs in his Direction pour la Conscience d'un Roi: 'Sur toute chose, ne forcez jamais vos sujets à changer de religion. Nulle puissance humaine ne peut forcer le retranchement impénétrable de la liberté du cœur. La force ne peut jamais persuader les hommes; elle ne fait que des hypocrites. Quand les rois se mêlent de religion, au lieu de la protéger, ils la mettent en servitude. Accordez à tous la tolerance civile, non en approuvant tout comme indifférent, mais en souffrant avec patience tout ce que Dieu souffre, et en tâchant de ramener les hommes par une douce persuasion.' It is true that the publication of this work of Fénélon, and also of his Telemachus, which contains such a precious fund of truth and wisdom, was not published for many years afterwards. But this does not detract from the credit due to him for cherishing and communicating, as far as he was able, such just principles of action. It only proves, as Dugald Stewart has justly remarked in his Preliminary Dissertation, p. 83, (where he cites the above passage,) that this celebrated prelate 'had shot far a-head of the orthodox religion and politics of his times.'

The history of London to this day bears witness to the settlement which many of the persecuted artisans of France then made in the outskirts of her city, and to the success with which they there resumed their labours; and the annals of our Colonial possessions exhibit, in different ways, evidences of the same fact. In New England, in New York, Virginia, and Maryland, the suffering Huguenots met with shelter and protection. But South Carolina, with its soft and genial climate, so closely resembling that of their own native land, was the province which seemed to hold out the greatest attractions for them; and to which they resorted in greatest numbers.

'They have found here,' says a Swiss emigrant, writing a few years later, 'a safe and pleasant retreat from the rigid Church discipline of their dragooning Apostles. They live in good friendship with, and are belov'd by the English, who, being sensible that their assistance has contributed not a little to improve the country, have been ready to oblige them on all occasions, where it lay in their power; as in passing general laws of naturalization, admitting them into all posts, civil and military. And this good understanding not only continues, but increases daily by intermarriages [98].'

The influence, which this circumstance had upon our Church in Carolina, will appear hereafter. I have only directed the attention of the reader, as I pass on, to this important fact in the early history of the province.

[98] Letter from South Carolina, by a Swiss Gentleman, to his friend at Bern, p. 41, in Bishop Kennett's Tracts.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE BERMUDAS, VIRGINIA, AND MARYLAND, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES II. TO THE LATTER END OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III.

A.D. 1660—1702.

THE BERMUDAS.

In looking at that portion of the map, which comprises the regions noticed towards the end of the last chapter, namely, the West Indies and Carolina, the eye cannot fail to distinguish, amid the Atlantic which rolls between them, the Bermudas, or Somers' Isles, to which the attention of the reader has been so frequently directed in the course of these Volumes. I ask him to regard them for a few moments, once more, because their history exhibits, with singular distinctness, the operation of those evil influences which now constituted the trial of our Church at home, and were felt by her in every quarter of the globe, to which the government, or commerce, of England extended.

A letter, addressed by Charles II., Feb. 17, 1661-2, to Edward, Earl of Manchester, proves that the governorship of these Islands had been conferred upon that nobleman, who was then Lord Chamberlain. He

was required therein to convene the Council, and examine its records, in order that the lands and houses formerly belonging to certain parties, named in the letter, might be restored to them[1]. In 1676, another letter was addressed by the Privy Council Committee of Trade and Plantations to the Bermudas Company, setting forth certain heads of enquiry, with respect to their condition at that time. The answers, returned in 1679, state that the Islands were governed by a Deputy, and Council of eight persons, chosen yearly by the Company out of each of the eight Tribes, besides a Sheriff and Secretary, who were *ex officio* members. There was also a General Assembly, consisting of the Governor and a Council of forty persons, chosen by the respective Tribes, and entrusted with the power of making Laws and Orders, which required to be confirmed by the Company at home, before they could be enforced. Other particulars are added, touching the forts, the military force, the extent of settled lands in each Tribe, the population, &c. from which we learn that each Tribe constituted a distinct Parish; and that the whole population, at that time, was very little under its present amount[2]. A large majority were slaves; and of the whites, blacks, and mulattoes, who were born, at the average rate of a hundred and twenty annually, about half were baptized. Nine Churches were then erected in the Islands, and five ministers officiating in them, who, it is said, were sufficient for them all, and the Company pro-

Their condition and form of government.

Churches and Clergy.

[1] MSS. (Bermudas) State Paper Office. In Beatson's Political Index, iii. 454, a chasm occurs in the list of governors from 1619 to 1698.

[2] See Parliamentary Report in Appendix (No. IV.) to Vol. i.

vided an annual stipend of £40, a house, and two shares of land, for each minister. If this had been all that is related of the condition of the Church in the Bermudas, it might have been inferred that her condition was more hopeful, and the opportunities of receiving the benefit of her ministrations greater, than any which existed in the other Colonial possessions of England, at this time[3]. But there is abundant evidence to show that she was speedily beset on every side with crowds of sectaries.

Overwhelmed by sectaries.

Some intimation of this fact has been given, in what has been before related with respect to the residence of Leverton and Oxenbridge in these Islands[4]. But the present document proves that the number of Nonconformist settlers, at that time, had so far exceeded that of the members of our Church, that the influence of the latter was nearly annihilated. Two-thirds of the inhabitants were Presbyterians; of the remainder, several were Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers[5]; and the few Clergy of our Church, who still lingered on, were either rebels against her authority, or defective and reluctant observers of it. Meanwhile, discontent was spreading rapidly among the people, who addressed petitions to the King, charging the Company with mal-administration of their powers, and praying for enquiry. These were referred to the Privy Council Committee, who, deeming the reply made to the charges unsatisfactory, recommended that the Company should agree to leave all the controverted matters to their decision, or that a writ of *Quo Warranto* should issue against them. The Company preferred

[3] MSS. ut sup.

[4] See p. 87, *ante*.

[5] MSS. ut sup. 49–62.

the latter course; and, the trial having taken place, they were convicted of divers misdemeanours, and judgment was delivered accordingly in Trinity Term, 1684, for the dissolution of their body. Richard Coney, then residing in the Islands, was the same year appointed, by Royal commission, Deputy-governor; and dispatches were speedily received from him, giving a piteous account, not only of the personal ill-treatment to which he was exposed, but also of the disorganisation which prevailed, from a belief, that, by the dissolution of the Company, all authority, of whatsoever kind, was at an end. His complaints were met by others of gross misconduct, which the settlers advanced against him. These, however, were either not listened to, or were proved groundless; for, upon the accession of James II., a second Commission was sent out to Coney, investing him with ampler powers. Among these, was a renewal of the authority, before given to various Colonial Governors, to 'collate persons to Churches, Chapels, or other Ecclesiastical Benefices within the Islands, as often as they shall happen to bee void.' Such authority, in the present instance, at least, was a mere mockery: for, in addition to the difficulties before mentioned, Coney states, in his answer, acknowledging the receipt of this Commission, that the inhabitants were in a state of mutiny; and that the Clergy also were much discontented, in consequence of their not having been confirmed by the King in possession of their lands, or receiving any longer the annual stipend which they had enjoyed under the Company. The Governor was, in his turn, assailed with fresh charges; among which was one which accused him with assuming ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by granting probates of wills,

Dissolution of the Bermudas Company.

Governor Coney.

administrations, and licences; to which he replies, that, as the Clergy had refused to bear any part in such jurisdiction, it was no fault in him to exercise it. Two of the Clergy, Mr. Bond and Mr. Vaughan, are especially described by him as 'much disgusted' at not having received their customary dues, and doing 'ill offices' in consequence.

Evils of religious discord.

'Mr. Vaughan,' he writes, 'at my first coming into this country profest himself of the Church of England, and, as hee told me, went into England to take orders; but Mr. Bond overruled him, and now both of them are enemys to ye Church of England and to government, which gives ye Quakers occasion to call them hirelings.'

In another letter, again, he speaks of Mr. Vaughan as being the holder of three slaves,

'the which he keeps, and will keep, because hee preacheth, but will not conform to ye Church of England.'

And then he adds, as if to apologise for all this disgraceful conduct and confusion, and his own utter inability to repair it,

'I meddle not with any person concerning religion, nor ever did. I have noe orders for it.'

His letters, in the following year, 1685-6, abound with representations of a like character. I cite one, as a sample of the rest, exhibiting a vivid picture of the degradation into which religious discord had plunged these Islands:

'I received,' he writes, 'a letter directed to ye first Clergyman in Bermudas; by ye seal I suppose it came from my Lord Bishop of London. None would receive it, except old Wm. Righton, formerly a preacher here, now turn'd lawyer, a tayler by trade, and a long time servt to Hugh Peters. Hee would have open'd it, saying it belong'd only to him, but I would not permit him. Our

Parish, when Mr. Vaughan return'd from England, did expect hee should have read ye Common Prayer, and administered ye Sacrament of ye Lord's Supper;—few in ye Island know what it is, more than by relating of aged people who formerly liv'd in England;—and not to have flung of his canonical gown, and, after a chapter read by a silly clerk, and a Psalm sung so irreverently, to step into ye Pulpit. The Parish is soe much troubled at it, that few or none will contribute their benevolence towards him [6].'

Turning now from the Bermudas, within whose narrow limits such evils were experienced, let us take a survey of what was passing in the continent of North America.

VIRGINIA.

The records of Virginia, which first claims our regard, present many events of interest during this period. Berkeley, still Governor of the province, went home early in 1661, to obtain redress for many grievances of which the Colonists complained; and Francis Morrison was elected Governor by the Council, until his return, which took place in the following year [7]. In the proceedings of the Assembly, held before his departure, the observance of the 30th of January, and the 29th of May, was appointed, as days of solemn commemoration of the two events which distinguished them in the annals of English history. Further arrangements also were made with respect to the constitution of Parochial Vestries, the number of their members, their obligation to take the oath of allegiance, and their authority to make agreement with the respective ministers as to the amount of their maintenance [8]. But, more important than any of these was another Act, which con-

Act for Colleges and Schools.

[6] Ib. 62. 114. 159. 163—188.

[7] Hening, ii. vii. and 17.

[8] This amount is fixed in a later Act, at not less than £80 a year, 'besides perquisites and glebe.' Ib. 45.

fessed 'the want of able and faithfull ministers,' caused by the great distance of the Colony from England; and which ordered,

'that, for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry, and promotion of piety, there be land taken upon purchases for a colledge and free schoole, and, that there be, with as much speede as may be convenient, houseing erected thereon for entertainment of students and schollers.'

Appointment of readers.

It was further ordered that, in all Parishes destitute of incumbents, 'readers of sufficient abilities should be chosen by the advice, and with the approbation of the next adjacent ministers,' and 'appointed to reade the prayers and homilies of the Church (where they can be procured) and to catechise children and servants according to' its form. A Church also was to be 'decently built in each Parish,' and the Parishes were to provide Bibles, and Books of Common Prayer, and Communion Plate, &c. for the due celebration of Divine worship; and glebes 'with convenient houseing and stockes upon the same' for 'the encouragement and better accommodation' of ministers. And, last of all, a Petition to the King was drawn up, and recommended to the support of Berkeley, praying for

'Letters patents to collect and gather the charity of well disposed people in England for the erecting of colledges and schooles in this countrye, and also for his majesties letters to both universities of Oxford and Cambridge to furnish the Church here with ministers for the present[9].'

It was, probably, with a view to press these and other like matters upon the attention of the people in England, that Philip Mallory, a Clergyman of high re-

[9] Ib. 24—31.

pute in Virginia, was appointed to undertake the mission which, I have before said, was assigned to him [10]. But his voice could not be heard, amid the clamour of conflicting interests.

The contributions of the Governor, Council of State, and Burgesses, towards the erection of the College referred to in the above Acts, are mentioned in subsequent records of the same Assembly; and it was ordered, that the Commissioners of the several County Courts should subscribe, and receive subscriptions, in promotion of the work, and that the amount should be returned to Morrison [11].

Severity of other Acts.

Orders were also passed for the due observance of the Sabbath Day, and for the celebration of marriages, &c., in terms substantially the same with those made in former years, and like penalties were affixed to their violation. In one respect, indeed, I find a penalty, now recorded, against an offence of which no mention was made in the earlier days of the Colony. It was evidently a result of the growth of Anabaptism at home; and a striking specimen of the miseries of religious strife. In consequence of the alleged averseness of 'many scismaticall persons to the orthodox established religion, or out of the new fangled conceits of their owne hereticall inventions,' they had refused 'to have their children baptised;' and, it was therefore enacted,

'That all persons, that, in contempt of the divine sacrament of baptisme, shall refuse, when they may carry their child to a lawfull minister in that county to have them baptised, shall be amerced two thousand pounds of tobacco, halfe to the informer, halfe to the publique.'

[10] See Vol. i. 493, *note*, and p. 21, *ante*.

[11] Hening, ii. 37.

The former severity, also, towards Quakers, was again manifested; for this Assembly ordered,

'That all Quakers for assembling in unlawful assemblages and conventicles be fined, and pay, each of them there taken, two hundred pounds of tobacco for each time they shall be for such unlawful meeting presented by the churchwardens to the county court, and in case of the insolvency of any person amonge them, the more able then taken to pay for them, one halfe to the informer and the other halfe to the publique.'

Two years afterwards, in addition to the above penalties, banishment from the Colony was adjudged for the third offence; and all masters of vessels bringing Quakers to the country, or persons harbouring them in their houses for the purpose of teaching, were to be visited with like penalties. Corporal punishments, indeed, for different offences were frequently resorted to throughout the Colony, if we may judge from the ample provision made for the instruments of their infliction; for it was enacted,

'That in every county, the court cause to be sett up a pillory, a pair of stocks, and a whipping post, neere the court house, and a ducking-stoole in such a place as they shall think convenient, that such offenders, as by the laws are to suffer by any of them, may be punished according to their demeritts. And the courts not causeing the said' instruments to be erected, 'within six months after the date of the act, were to be fined 5000 lbs. of tobacco to the use of the publique [12].'

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[12] Ib. 48. 75. 165. 181—183. So great appears to have been the tendency of the women in Virginia at this time to slander and scolding, that, in a later Act, it was stated that 'their poore husbands were often brought into chargeable and vexatious suites, and cast in greate damages thereby;' and to check this indulgence of the tongue, it was provided, that, for each 500 lbs. of tobacco which the man had to pay in consequence of his wife's slander, she should be punished by ducking. Ib. 166.

Acts concerning the Indians.

A more welcome subject of remark is that supplied in the digest of laws, made by this Assembly, for the better treatment of the Indians. With the view of protecting them from the fraud or violence of English Planters, it was ordered that no more contracts for the sale of their lands to the latter should be permitted; that satisfaction should be given for all injuries done to their persons and property; that the English, who had encroached upon their lands, should be removed, and their houses destroyed; that the Indians should be permitted to bring in fish and fruit for sale, provided they came unarmed; that no Englishman was to trade with them, unless he were licensed; that the boundaries of their respective territories should be settled by Commissioners, and annually viewed; that silver and copper badges, with the names of the different towns engraved upon them, should be supplied to the Indian kings, which were to be worn by their subjects upon entering the English borders, for the purpose of affording a clue to their detection, if they were guilty of any misconduct; and, that no Indian, brought in as a servant, was to be sold as a slave, or to be retained as a servant, without permission from the Governor [13].

Instructions to Berkeley on Church matters.

Upon the return of Berkeley to Virginia, in 1622, he brought Instructions from the Crown, which contain the following important passage relative to Church matters:

'And that God Almighty may be more inclined to bestow His blessing upon us and you in the improvement of that our Colony, you shall take speciall care He be devoutly and duly served in all the government; the Booke of Common Prayer, as it is now es-

[13] Ib. 138—143.

tablisht, read each Sunday and Holy day, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England; You shall be carefull that the Churches already built there shall be well and orderly kept, and more built as the Colony shall, by God's blessing, be improved: And that besides a competent maintenance to be assigned to the Minister of each Church, a convenient house be built, at the common charge, for each Minister, and one hundred acres of land assigned him for a Glebe and exercise of his industry.

'And our will and pleasure is that no Minister be preferred by you to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in that our Colony, without a certificate from the Lord Bishop of London of his being conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England: And also our pleasure is, that in the direction of all Church affairs, the Ministers be admitted into the respective Vestrys.

'And that we may the better be secured of the Faith and Allegiance due unto Us from all our subjects in that our Colony, you are to take care that the oaths of obedience and supremacy be administered to all persons whatsoever that bear any part of the Government, and that none be admitted thereunto without first taking the said oaths; as also that all other persons of what degree or quality soever (capable by the Law of taking an oath) be strictly enjoined to take the said oath of obedience, or to suffer the penalties provided in case of such refusall, by the Laws of our Kingdome of England.

'And because Wee are willing to give all possible encouragement to persons of different persuasions in matters of Religion to transport themselves thither with their stocks, You are not to suffer any man to be molested or disquieted in the exercise of his Religion, so he be content with a quiet and peaceable enjoying it, not giving therein offence or scandall to the Government: But Wee oblige you in your own house and family to the profession of the Protestant Religion, according as it is now established in our Kingdome of England, and the recommending it to all others under your government, as farre as it may consist with the peace and quiet of our said Colony.—You are to take care that drunkenese and debauchery, swearing and blasphemy, be discountenanced and punished: And that none be admitted to publick trust and employment, whose ill fame and conversation may bring scandall thereupon [14].'

[14] MSS. (Virginia) in State Paper Office.

These Instructions manifest the same desire to establish the ordinances of our Church throughout Virginia, which has been noticed in former instances [15]; and they breathe the same humane and equitable spirit, towards those who were not of her communion, which distinguished the declarations of the King to the Parliament at home, and his Instructions to the Governor of Jamaica, about the same period. But the same feeling of regret is awakened in this, as in the other instances referred to, when we observe how soon this spirit was exchanged for one of severity and oppression.

Conspiracy.

In Virginia, indeed, fresh elements of disturbance quickly appeared. In 1663, in consequence of increased commercial restrictions, and the persecution of sectaries, a conspiracy was formed by some veteran soldiers of Cromwell who had been sent thither. It was happily disclosed by one of their party, Berkenhead, on the evening before the day upon which it was to have taken effect, the 13th of September; and, in commemoration of the deliverance of the Colony from such great danger, ample rewards were given to Berkenhead; and the annual recurrence of the day upon which the intended massacre was to have taken place was appointed to be kept holy [16].

Affairs were evidently in a very critical state. The clouds, which foretold the coming storm, were fast gathering on every side; and men's hearts were distracted with many and anxious fears. A significant proof of this fact is supplied in an Act proclaiming the observance of the 27th of August, 1667, as a day

[15] See Vol. i. 267. 461—472.

[16] Hening, 191. 204; Burk, ii. 134—137.

of fasting and humiliation before God, for the averting the many evils which the sins of the country had drawn down upon it; and calling upon the Ministers of the several Parishes to prepare themselves for the due solemnization of the day[17].

Baptism of slaves.

Before we relate the struggle which ensued, we must recite briefly another enactment relating, indeed, to a wholly different subject, but most important;—the baptism of slaves in Virginia. Doubts had arisen whether children, who were slaves by birth, and through the charity and piety of their owners had been baptized, were thereby freed from temporal bondage or not: and the Assembly declared that their participation in that sacrament did not change their outward condition. The object of publishing this declaration is expressly stated in the Act,

'That divers masters, ffreed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavour the propagation of Christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that Sacrament[18].'

The mere passing of such a law presents a striking contrast to the state of things to which our attention has been drawn in Barbados[19], and proves, that, amid the pressing difficulties of Virginia, there were many devout members of the Church within her borders, anxious to secure to their slaves the dearest boon of spiritual freedom. Nor can it be doubted that such men would have rejoiced to have struck off also the temporal bonds of their slaves, had it then been practicable. But they yielded to the necessity laid upon

[17] Ib. 265. [18] Ib. 260.

[19] See p. 301, &c. *ante*.

them by the laws of that community of which they were members; and justly so; for the fact is not to be doubted that the blessings of the Gospel, wheresoever faithfully received, are independent of, and superior to, all outward contingencies. The Apostle himself bore witness to this, when he said, "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a servant? care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman: likewise also he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant[20]."

But it is only for an instant that enactments such as these arrest our attention. The repeated directions for the levying of fresh troops, for the enforcement of military discipline, and for prohibiting the transportation of arms and ammunition into the Indian territories, all tell of danger close at hand, and of efforts to repel it. At length, in 1675, a most formidable body of Indians and of European settlers, headed by a young Englishman, Nathaniel Bacon, appeared in open insurrection against the constituted authorities of the Colony. Upon more than one occasion, Bacon gained the mastery; and the laws passed by the Assembly held under his authority[21], the forced retirement of Berkeley's forces, and the flames which destroyed the greater part of James Town, are some of the many witnesses which prove this fact. But the struggle ended in the following year, by the death of Bacon, and the severest punishments fell upon his chief followers. In some instances, indeed, their severity exceeded the

Bacon's rebellion.

[20] 1 Cor. vii. 20—22.

[21] Hening, ii. 326—365.

terms of Berkeley's Instructions; and a second proclamation was issued by the Crown, condemning them. The laws passed, during Bacon's ascendancy, were forthwith formally repealed; but some of the most valuable of them were, soon afterwards, re-enacted in the very same words: a strong proof, that the abuses in the Government, which these laws were designed to correct, and which its members were before unwilling to acknowledge, had provoked the insurrection [22].

Berkeley's recall.

Commissioners were sent out from England to enquire into this matter; among whom was Herbert Jefferys, who announced his own appointment as Governor, (April 27, 1677,) in the room of Berkeley, recalled to England. Thus Berkeley left the country, over which, with the brief interruption caused by the officers of the Commonwealth, he had presided for thirty-six years; and,

Death and character.

worn out with anxiety and age, breathed his last within a few months after his return to his native land [23]. The opportunity never arrived of vindicating himself, before his Sovereign and country, against the charges brought against him of mal-administration of the Colony. His memory, indeed, was successfully defended by his brother, Lord Berkeley, from the misrepresentations of the Commissioners; and the Virginia Assembly declared, in an Address to Charles II., with not less generosity than truth, 'that he had been an excellent and well-

[22] Burk, ii. 152—193; Chalmers, 332—335; Hening, ii. 429. 391, *note*.

[23] Ib. 558—560, where a copy of his Will, and the date of probate are given.

deserving governor[24].' Nevertheless, the brave, and loyal, and honest man, who, through a long life of peril and vicissitude, had laboured, as he best could, to promote the welfare of England's first Colony, died, without one word of grateful acknowledgment from his country that he had done her any service. The sympathy, which such a fate must naturally excite in the hearts of most men, might have led succeeding writers of American history to have dealt more gently than they have done with the character of Berkeley. They unite, for the most part, in describing him as a man, whose main desire was to keep the Colony in a state of thraldom and ignorance, and, upon that account only, retained so long in the service of the Crown, as a fit instrument to execute its despotic counsels. They have not paid sufficient regard to the condition of the Colony, when the predecessors of Berkeley delivered it into his hands; the arbitrary rule to which it had been made subject by them, and by the authorities at home; the intolerant character of the age; and the stimulus given to all its worst energies by the various conflicts carried on, with such deadly animosity, in England and Virginia, during the greater part of his administration. The remembrance of these exciting causes may surely palliate, though they cannot justify, the temper of mind which, it is said, distinguished Berkeley. The chief evidence of his accusers is a written declaration of his own, which, taken only by itself, must be admitted to tell strongly against him. It is found in his answer to a series of questions, touching the state of the Colony, addressed to him from the home

[24] Chalmers, 337. 350.

government, in 1671. The last question was to this effect:

'What course is taken about the instructing the people within your government in the Christian religion; and what provision is there made for the paying of your ministry?'

To which, he replies:

'The same course that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his ability instructing his children. We have fforty-eight parishes, and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent would be better if they would pray oftener and preach less. But as of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us: and we had few that we could boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tiranny drove divers worthy men hither. But, I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government[23].'

The man, who could give utterance to such sentiments, it is plain, must have been blinded to the real sense of the use of learning, by the overwhelming dread of its abuse. His judgment must have been, for the time, held captive; and his kindly and generous feelings put to flight by the onset of the many fierce and contemptuous spirits that were contending with him for the mastery. The evils, which drove Berkeley into this vicious extreme, were not indeed altogether imaginary. Even Milton, the foremost champion in that age for the liberty of unlicensed printing, admits

'That it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Books demean themselves as well as Men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice to them as malefactors: for Books,' he affirms, 'are not

[23] Hening, ii. 517.

absolutely dead things, but do contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a viol the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them; they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous Dragon's teeth; and, being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men[26].'

To Berkeley, doubtless, the springing up of such 'armed men' upon the soil of Virginia, seemed an intolerable evil, which it was his duty to crush at the very outset. But, before the sentence of unsparing condemnation be passed upon him for the cherishing of such a thought, let it be remembered, that, through the erroneous course of policy already described, he was deprived of the benefit of those corrective influences which the Church, had she been able to exercise fully and properly the office assigned to her, might have brought to bear upon him. His Instructions from England upon this subject, were rendered nugatory by those enactments of the Assembly, which, howsoever well intended they may have been, were pregnant with evil to the real interests of religion; and the absence of any authorised and competent ecclesiastical superior to advise, encourage, or admonish the ministers and lay members of the Church, allowed the evil to show itself in its most aggravated and frightful form. All the pernicious consequences, in fact, which, I have said, were to be apprehended from such misrule as has been described, were speedily and fully realised[27].

Godwyn's description of the Virginia Clergy.

Godwyn, to whose testimony touching Barbados reference has been made in the preceding chapter, may be again cited as

[26] Areopagitica. Works, i. 424, fol. ed.

[27] See Vol. i. 471.

a witness of this fact. He had passed some time in Virginia, before he went to Barbados; and, at the end of his pamphlet, 'The Negro's and Indian's Advocate,' he gives, in a letter to Berkeley, a brief account of the state of religion in that province, 'as it was some time before the late rebellion.' Godwyn acknowledges that Berkeley had,

'As a tender father, nourished and preserved Virginia in her infancy and nonage. But, as our blessed Lord' he reminds him 'once said to the young man in the Gospel, "Yet lackest thou one thing;" so (he adds) may we, and I fear too truly, say of Virginia, that there is one thing, the propagation and establishing of Religion in her, wanting.'

And this he proves in various ways; saying, that

'The Ministers are most miserably handled by their Plebeian Juntos, the Vesteries; to whom the hiring (that is the usual word there) and admission of Ministers is solely left. And there being no law obliging them to any more than to procure a lay-reader (to be obtained at a very moderate rate), they either resolve to have none at all, or reduce them to their own terms; that is, to use them how they please, pay them what they list, and to discard them whensoever they have a mind to it. And this is the recompense of their leaving their hopes in England (far more considerable to the meanest curate, than what can possibly be apprehended there), together with their friends and relations, and their native soil, to venture their lives into those parts, amongst strangers and enemies to their profession, who look upon them as a burden; as being with their families (where they have any) to be supported out of their labour. So that I dare boldly aver that our discouragements there are much greater than ever they were here in England under the Usurper.'

After citing various evidences in support of these statements, among which he specifies the hiring of the Clergy from year to year, and compelling them to accept of Parishes at under rates, Godwyn thus proceeds:

'I would not be thought to reflect herein upon your Excellency, who have always professed great tenderness for Churchmen. For, alas! these things are kept from your ears; nor dare the Ministers, had they opportunity, acquaint you with them, for fear of being used worse. And there being no superior Clergyman, neither in Council nor in any place of authority, for them to address their complaints to, and by his means have their grievances brought to your Excellencies knowledge, they are left without remedy.' Again, 'two-thirds of the Preachers are made up of leaden Lay-Priests of the Vesteries Ordination; and are both the shame and grief of the rightly ordained Clergie there. Nothing of this ever reaches your Excellencies ear: these hungry patrons knowing better how to make benefit by their vices, than by the virtues of the other.'

And here Godwyn cites an instance of a writing master, who came into Virginia, professing to be a Doctor in Divinity, showing feigned Letters of Orders, and, under different names, continuing in various places to carry on his work of fraud. He states also, that, owing to a law of the Colony, which enacted that four years' servitude should be the penalty exacted of any one who permitted himself to be sent thither free of charge, some of the Clergy, through ignorance of the law, were left thereby under the mastery of persons who had given them the means of gratuitous transport; and that they could only escape from such bondage, by paying a ransom four or five times as large as that to which the expenses of their passage would have amounted. Moreover, he describes the Parishes, as extending, some of them, 60 or 70 miles in length, and lying void, for many years together, to save charges. James Town, he distinctly states, had been left, with short intervals, in this destitute condition for twenty years.

'Laymen (he adds) were allowed to usurp the office of ministers; and Deacons to undermine and thrust out Presbyters; in a word

all things concerning the Church and Religion were left to the mercy of the people.' And, last of all, 'to propagate Christianity among the heathen,—whether natives, or slaves brought from other parts,—although (as must piously be supposed) it were the only end of God's discovering those countries to us, yet is that lookt upon by our new race of Christians, so idle and ridiculous, so utterly needless and unnecessary, that no man can forfeit his judgment more, than by any proposal looking or tending that way[28].'

The evils, then, which now oppressed the Church in Virginia, were the same in kind with those at work in every other settlement. Deriving their origin from the sorrows of the Mother country, they were aggravated by the very measures which were designed to govern and protect the Church. The Bishops, her natural and true protectors, were not permitted, in any one Colony, to watch over her; and hence all her distresses.

Pamphlet entitled 'Virginia's Cure,' &c.

But this melancholy state of things was not permitted to exist, without some effort to remedy it. We have seen, that, in the year after the Restoration, Philip Mallory was sent home for the express purpose of urging upon the English the prayer for help. And, in the same year, the condition of the Church in Virginia was especially brought under the notice of Sheldon, then Bishop of London, and Morley, Bishop of Winchester, in a pamphlet, entitled 'Virginia's Cure,' &c., and written by one who had fled to that province, for the purpose of avoiding (as he says) the 'tyrannical usurpations of his native countrey;' and 'for the space of above ten years' had been an eye-witness of the things which he describes. He was sent home by Governor Morison with Petitionary Letters to the

[28] Godwyn, ut sup. 167—172.

above-named Bishops; and, having stated to them that the adoption of the propositions contained in the Letters, though good, would only palliate, not cure, the miseries with which the Church was afflicted, he was requested by the Bishop of London to make some further propositions upon the subject; and this he did, in the work to which I now refer.

The initials only of the writer's name, R. G., are given in the title-page; but the value of his testimony is not thereby destroyed; for the names and offices of those persons at whose request he published it, give to it all the authority which can be required. The contents also of his pamphlet prove him to be a faithful witness.

He relates, in his preface, that he was induced to make known the evils under which the Virginian Church laboured, and the remedies proposed for their alleviation, in the hope, first of all, that it might lead others to assert more fully the truth which he endeavours briefly to prove, that it was the duty of Christians (especially those who seat Plantations among the heathen) to unite their habitations in such manner as to secure the constant participation of all the ordinances of the Church; secondly, that the errors which had been committed in Virginia, might be avoided in the establishment of future Plantations; and, lastly, that charitable persons might be induced to endow Virginia Fellowships in both Universities, according to a plan which the writer himself suggests. Whatsoever might be the result of his appeal, the writer cheers himself by the reflection, that it might at least be some testimony to his friends in Virginia, that he was not unmindful of procuring help for their poor scattered Church, or ungrateful

for the kind reception which they had given to him, in the day of his own persecution.

Its enumeration of evils which afflicted the Church there.

He describes Virginia as being divided, at that time, into several counties, which contained in all about fifty Parishes, not more than a mile in breadth, extending many miles along the banks of James River, and often parted from each other by small streams and creeks. The inhabitants of these Parishes, consequently, although seated in the midst of them, were often at a great distance from the Church. Many Parishes wanted both Churches and Glebes; and not more than a fifth of them were supplied with ministers. Divine Service was celebrated only once upon the Lord's Day; and sometimes not at all, when the weather was inclement. He then recites the evil consequences of such a condition; 'the want of Christian neighbourhood, of brotherly admonition, of holy examples of religious persons, of the comfort of their ministrations in sickness and distress, and of the benefit of Christian and civil conference and commerce.' The want also of Schools, produced by the operation of the same causes, is pointed out, whereby 'not only was there a very numerous generation of Christian children born in Virginia, unserviceable for any employment of Church or State; but an obstacle was also cast in the way of the conversion of the heathen;' a work which, he reminds his countrymen, was always to be kept in view, 'by all who would be subservient to the Providence of God, in transporting our Colonies thither.'

The cause of this scattered mode of living throughout the province, is assigned by the writer to the privilege, granted under the Royal Charter, of giving

to the settlers 50 acres of land for every person whom they should transport at their own charges; and to the random way in which the original holders, or subsequent purchasers, of these lands selected them. To remedy this inconvenience, in future, the building of towns is recommended, and the revival of a former Act of the Assembly for holding markets; concerning which points, he recommends that the then Governor, or some of those who had held office in the Colony, should be consulted.

Its proposal of Virginia Fellowships.

He next urges upon Sheldon the earnest entreaty, that he would acquaint the King with the spiritual destitution of Virginia, and move his Majesty for a collection to be made in all the Churches of the kingdom; the ministers of each congregation enjoining them to contribute to so holy a work. He dwells also upon the necessity of procuring an Act of Parliament for the establishment of Fellowships in both Universities, to be called Virginia Fellowships, which were to be held by such persons as should promise to retain them for seven years, and no longer. At the expiration of that period, it was proposed that the persons holding the Fellowships should go to Virginia, and serve the Church in that Colony for another period of seven years, during which they were to be maintained from her resources; and, upon the termination of it, they were to be left at their own liberty to return to England or not. In case of violating any of the above conditions, they were to be deemed incapable of holding any preferment.

The constitution and influence of the Grand Assembly are next described, as impediments in the way of evangelizing the province. It was usually held

once a year; at which meeting matters of the greatest public interest were determined. It consisted of the Governor and Council, who formed the Upper House, and the Burgesses, the elected representatives of the Planters, who formed the Lower House. These latter, the writer adds, were 'usually such as went over servants thither, and though by time and industry they may have attained competent estates, yet by reason of their poor and mean condition were unskilful in judging of a good estate, either of Church or Commonwealth, or of the means of procuring it[29].'

Its demand for a Bishop.

To counteract these evils, and to awaken a more healthful action among the members of the Church, the writer demands earnestly the presence of a Bishop in the province; saying that there were 'divers persons already in the Colony fit to serve the Church in the office of Deacon,' and 'that after due probation and examination,' which could only be properly conducted by a Bishop, they might be profitably employed in the furtherance of the Gospel of Christ. A continuous and consistent order of ministration would be thereby secured; and the Parishes be saved from the evil, which then commonly prevailed, of being watched over for short and uncertain periods.

Its testimony to the affectionate spirit of the Virginians.

To all who should be induced to enter upon this field of labour, the writer gives, in conclusion, this encouraging assurance:

'They shall (in a very pleasant and fruitful land) meet with a people which generally bear a great love and respect to their Ministers; and (if they behave themselves as becometh their high

[29] Ib. 4—18.

calling) they shall find ready help and assistance in their needs; and (which should be more encouraging) they will find a people which generally bear a great love to the stated constitutions of the Church of England, in her government and publick worship, which gave us (who went thither under the late persecutions of it) the advantage of liberty to use it constantly among them, after the naval force had reduced the Colony under the power (but never to the obedience) of the Usurper; which liberty we could not have enjoyed, had not the people generally expressed a great love to it. And I hope even this will be consideration (not of least regard) to move your Lordship to use all possible care, and endeavour to supply Virginia's needs with sufficient orthodox Ministers, in the first place, and before any other of our foreign Plantations which crave your help, because in the late times of our Church's persecution, her people alone cheerfully and joyfully embraced, encouraged, and maintained the orthodox Ministers that went over to them, in their publick conformity to the Church of England, in her doctrine, and stated manner of publick worship [30].'

Such an appeal, addressed to such Prelates as Sheldon and Morley, could hardly have failed of success, had the times been more propitious. The well-known munificence [31] of Sheldon, and the 'many eminent works of charity and generosity' by which Morley's administration of the Diocese of Winchester was distinguished, and which have been so gratefully and

[30] Ib. 22. In passing the first edition of these sheets through the press, I received from Mr. Charles Campbell, of Virginia, a copy of his Introduction to the History of that State. I thankfully acknowledge his kindness in making me a possessor of his most useful work; and, in doing so, am glad to quote the terms of commendation in which he has noticed the above pamphlet. He justly describes it, as 'written with uncommon perspicuity and vigour, and in a spirit of earnest benevolence,' p. 75, note. I willingly avail myself also of this opportunity to acknowledge the interesting and valuable Historical Tracts which I have received from the hands of the Rev. Philip Slaughter, late Rector of Bristol Parish, Petersburg, Virginia.

[31] See note in p. 265, *ante*.

faithfully acknowledged by the learned author of the Origines Ecclesiasticæ, in his Preface to that valuable work, would amply justify the belief, that, had it been in their power, they would have rejoiced to help their brethren in Virginia. But the reader has only to bear in mind the complicated difficulties which were, at that same moment, exciting the fears, distracting the energies, and irritating the passions of Englishmen at home; and he will not be surprised, howsoever he may regret, to find that their prayer was fruitless.

Abortive attempt to send a Bishop to Virginia.

An attempt, indeed, was made to grant that most important part of the appeal, which solicited the presence of a Bishop in Virginia. The nomination of the Rev. Alexander Murray to that office was actually declared, at one period of Clarendon's administration; but the matter proceeded no further[32]. Objections were urged, in the first instance, against the character of Murray himself; and, although these, upon examination, proved utterly groundless, yet other difficulties were quickly raised which had the effect of putting an end to the design. Some have ascribed this result to the efforts of the Cabal ministry, who succeeded to power after the downfall of Clarendon, and were glad to thwart any scheme which he had been anxious to promote[33]; others, to the impracticable character of

[32] It is said in McVicar's Life of Bp. Hobart, p. 177, upon the authority of an MS. Journal of Chandler, in McVicar's possession, that the Bishop of London showed to Chandler, when he was in England, 'the original Patent made out by Sir Orlando Bridgman, for an American Bishop, in the reign of Charles II,' which relates probably to the above transaction.

[33] Gadsden, in his Life of Bishop Dehon, p. 5, quotes Chandler's 'Free Statement,' as his authority for part of this account.

the plan proposed for the endowment of the Bishopric, by which it was to be defrayed out of the Customs[34].

Sir Leoline Jenkins.

But, although disappointed for a time, the words of the men who proclaimed to England the spiritual destitution of her Colonies, did not return unto them altogether void. There were many, in that day of domestic strife, who remembered, and did what they could to remedy, the wants of their countrymen abroad. Among these, Sir Leoline Jenkins claims a conspicuous place. He was a native of Glamorganshire; and, having entered as a member of Jesus College, Oxford, in 1641, took up arms in favour of the King's cause. When that cause was overthrown, he retired, with Mansell, the ejected Principal of the same College, to his native county, and there supported himself for some time by tuition. His adversaries then indicted him for keeping a seminary of rebellion and sedition; in consequence of which, he withdrew, in 1651, and fled for temporary safety to Oxford, where he lived in confidential friendship with Fell and Sheldon. A second time, he was compelled to flee thence and go beyond sea with his pupils. Towards the close of Cromwell's life, he returned to England, living in close retirement, under the protection of Sir William Whitmore, until the Restoration, when he returned to Oxford, and was chosen Fellow, and afterwards, in 1671, Principal of Jesus College; which office he retained two years. During his residence at Oxford, he took an active part not only in matters relating to his

[34] Archbishop Secker's Letter to Horace Walpole, Works, iv. 501 (ed. 1825). Among the papers in Lambeth Library, is one referring to this subject, which will be noticed more particularly hereafter.

College, but to the University generally, and was of great service to Sheldon, then Chancellor, in the settlement of the Theatre and Printing Press, erected at the expense of the Archbishop. During the same period, he was admitted an advocate in Doctors' Commons; and, in 1664, was appointed Judge of the High Court of Admiralty. Sheldon further conferred upon him the office of Commissary and Official for the Diocese of Canterbury. The early resignation of the headship of his College was caused by his being appointed Ambassador at Cologne; and, in 1676, he again served, with Lord Berkeley and Sir William Temple, as Plenipotentiary for the treaty of Nimeguen. He was also a Burgess for the University from 1679 until the time of his death. In 1680, he succeeded Sir William Coventry as Secretary of State; and, we have seen, was instrumental in forwarding the safe settlement of the French Protestant refugees in Jamaica[35]. He retained the office of Secretary until 1684, when he was displaced by Godolphin; and died, September 1, 1685, a few months after the accession of James II.[36]

His will, endowing two Fellowships for the Foreign Plantations.

The many important offices held by Jenkins, and his care and punctuality in discharging them, had impressed him with a deep sense of the necessity of securing, for the Fleets and Plantations of England,

[35] See p. 291, *ante*.

[36] Wynne's Life of Jenkins, i.—xl.; Temple's Works, ii. 332—541; Burnet's Own Times, ii. 17. 245. 431. Temple amused himself sometimes with describing the anxious punctiliousness of Sir Leoline; but, nevertheless, felt great respect for him, and it was mainly at his solicitation that Jenkins was appointed Secretary. Burnet represents him as 'a man of an exemplary life, and considerably learned, but dull and slow.'

a larger amount of spiritual help than had hitherto been provided; and his intimate connexion with Oxford had naturally led him to regard that University, as one source from which that assistance could be derived. With this view, he had besought the King to authorise the foundation and endowment of two additional Fellowships in Jesus College, Oxford, and bequeathed out of his estate salaries and allowances sufficient to make them equal to the Fellowships already existing. The purposes to which these two Fellowships were to be applied, are thus described by Jenkins in his Will:

'Since he owed (under God) all that he was, and all that he had, to the Royal goodness and bounty of His late Majesty, and His Majesty that then was; he humbly besought, that the first of those Fellows, and his successors, may be known and distinguished by the name of the Scholar and Alumnus of King Charles II.; the other, and his successors, by the name of the Scholar and Alumnus of King James II.; and that they may be under an indispensable obligation to take upon them Holy Orders of Priesthood, so soon as, by the Constitutions of this Church and the laws of this Realm, they shall be capable of them; and afterwards that they go out to sea, in His Majesty's Fleet, when they, or either of them, are thereunto summoned by the Lord High Admiral. If they refuse to take Orders, or refuse or delay to obey such summons, then their places to be *ipso facto* void, and others to be chosen in their room, as if they were naturally dead. And, in case there be no use of their service at sea, and they be called by the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, to go into any of His Majesty's foreign Plantations, there to take upon them a cure of souls, and exercise the ministerial function, under his Lordship's direction and obedience, and they refuse or delay to go, then their place or places to be immediately void, and supply'd by a new election.

'And to the end they may not be without some special encouragement, in regard of the extraordinary obligation and duty they are to be under; he further besought His Majesty, in his Letters Patent of foundation, to order and direct the said Principal, Fellows, and Scholars for the time being, to allow them respectively as

full salaries as any other of their degree, notwithstanding their absence, so long as they shall be either in the Fleet or Plantations, and be certified by the Lord High Admiral and the Lord Bishop of London respectively, that they have been in the said service, and have behaved themselves in all things as became them. And that His Majesty would be pleased to declare, in his said Letters Patent, that, during their absence, they are *in obsequio Domini Regis*, and consequently intitled to all benefits and advantages, as if they had been actually resident in the College. And for their further encouragement, over and above the allowance they are to receive equally with the other Fellows, he devised the sum of 20*l.* a year apiece to be paid to the said two additional Fellows, or their order respectively, while they are, and *pro ratâ* of the time of their being, actually in either of the said services (due certificate being first produced to that effect). But no person to be chosen full Fellow, after the year of his probation, into either of the said two Fellowships, till he is actually in Holy Orders of Priesthood; and that he be a native of the Diocese of Landaff, or St. David's; and that among them, a first respect be had, *cæteris paribus*, to those bred at Cowbridge School.

'When the said two Fellowships should be founded and endowed, he directed that then two of the three Exhibitioners from Cowbridge School aforementioned, should be taken and reputed new additional Scholars of the House, equally with the other sixteen, to all intents and purposes; and that the said two additional Fellows, and their successors, should be chosen out of them preferably to all others, if they be equal with the other candidates[37].'

It is a matter of much regret to learn that the provision thus plainly designed by Sir Leoline Jenkins for our Church in the Colonies, was for a long period in abeyance; and that, only within the last few years, and not without encountering many difficulties, have the benefits contemplated by the Founder been secured. But I will not dwell upon the past. I gratefully record the fact, that the College over which Jenkins once presided, has now practically confessed

[37] Wynne's Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins, I. lxvi. lxvii.

the obligation imposed upon a portion of its members by his Will; and that two of its present Fellows, the Rev. William David, a Missionary at Kingston, Canada West, and the Rev. David Jenkins, in the Diocese of Natal, are, at this moment, living witnesses of the obedience paid to it. Let it be acknowledged also, with feelings of yet deeper gratitude, that the present Bishop of London, who was especially bound to see that justice was done in this matter, has, by the successful issue of his representations, established another claim upon the affection and reverence of the Church at home and abroad.

Appeal made therein to the Universities of England.

Meanwhile, it should be remembered that the pious designs of Leoline Jenkins were promoted in that day by many of the Clergy and Lay Members of our Church, whose hearts were animated by a kindred feeling with his own. The Universities of our land, from which he thus strove to draw fresh supplies of spiritual health and strength for the benefit of our 'Fleets and Plantations,' were regarded by them with like feelings of affectionate anxiety and hope. Thus Dr. Josiah Woodward, in his 'Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London,' published in 1701, speaks of the efforts which, for some years prior to that date, had been made 'for Reformation of Manners:'

Referred to by Dr. Woodward in that day.

'I am informed that some particular methods which have been very serviceable to Religion, have likewise been endeavoured by several worthy persons in our Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. And it will always be the prayer of good men, that these ancient and famous Nurseries of Piety and Learning, may, by the good discipline and careful conduct of their Students, especially those designed for Holy Orders, ever render themselves renowned

in the world. That from them the Palaces of Princes, the Retinue of Ambassadors, and the Families of Noblemen, together with our Fleets and Foreign Factories, may have a continual supply of devout and learned Chaplains; and that our Parishes, both at home and in our Plantations, may thence derive a constant succession of pious and laborious Pastors, who may effectually refute error, extirpate vice, recommend piety, and restore the Divine honour and authority of our most blessed Religion, and that the Testimonials of these celebrated seats of Learning may every where be esteemed as the most sacred credentials of persons of the best characters and accomplishments. There can be no doubt but that the efforts of these famous Universities, to retrieve the primitive vigour of our Religion, would excel all that has been already done of the like tendency by others[38].'

An Appeal, which still urges the claims of her Colonies upon them.

Who that wishes peace to our Jerusalem would not renew such prayers, and rejoice to see them realised? It is a consideration, fitted above all others to quicken and sustain the vigilance of those who hold rule in our Universities, and to restrain the waywardness and stimulate the zeal of all entrusted to their charge, to feel that the highest destinies of England are in their keeping; and that the character which her Church shall bear, in future ages, and to the furthest confines of the earth, depends mainly upon the impressions which she, at this day, receives in 'these ancient and famous Nurseries of Piety and Learning.' Every effort, therefore, which is made to lift up the hearts and minds of those now sheltered within them to a consciousness of their deep responsibilities, and to spread before them the view of those vast and distant and varied fields of labour into which

[38] Woodward's Account, &c. 57. It is a proof of the interest excited at that time in the subject-matter of this book, that it passed through six editions in a few years after its first publication.

they shall hereafter be invited to enter, is a step which we should gratefully welcome, and bid it God speed. The few and scanty glimpses of those regions, which were caught, amid the rivalries of academic study, in the beginning of the present century, were not without their benefit; for they awakened new thoughts of holy resolution, new hopes of glorious triumph [39]. And if, in later years, a broader and clearer view has been given of the same regions; if the student is now encouraged to regard with greater attention the differing tribes and countries of the East; to detect the subtle fallacies of Hindu idolatry; and to gain an insight into the structure of that language, which, although it has long ceased to be the vehicle of thought among existing Hindus, is, nevertheless, the source of nearly all their spoken dialects, and the treasure-house of their religion, their laws, their literature [40]; if, moreover,

Those claims recognised by recent institutions in the Universities.

[39] Witness the prizes given by Dr. Buchanan to each of the Universities, in 1805, and the valuable results of which are still to be traced in Pearson's Dissertation on the Propagation of Christianity in Asia, and the noble poem of Mr. Charles Grant, now Lord Glenelg, on the Restoration of Learning in the East.

[40] I refer here to the recently instituted Boden Professorship of Sanscrit at Oxford; to the prize (associated with the honoured name of General Sir Peregrine Maitland) periodically given at Cambridge for an English Essay on some subject connected with the propagation of the Gospel through missionary exertions in India, and other parts of the heathen world; to the sums which have been lately transmitted to both Universities, from an unknown benefactor, by the hands of the present Bishop of Calcutta, for the writers of the best Essays on the Refutation of Hinduism; and, last though not least, to the Le Bas Prize, instituted at Cambridge, which connects the name of one of her most distinguished sons with India,—the Members of whose Civil Service, in this generation at least, can never forget the debt of obligation they owe to him.

he has heard the voice of the Preacher addressing him, in a series of Lectures, valuable alike for the extent of research, the soundness of argument, and the faithful earnestness of appeal which they exhibit[41]; and, further, if provision has been made, that, from this time forward, a Sermon upon the subject of 'Church Extension over the Colonies and Dependencies of the British Empire' shall be delivered from the Pulpit of each University every year, which shall solemnly and affectionately remind her members of the duty incumbent upon them in this matter[42];' it is evident that fresh avenues are hereby

[41] The Bampton Lectures, preached in 1843, by Dr. Grant, now Archdeacon of St. Alban's, on 'The past and prospective extension of the Gospel by missions to the heathen.'

[42] Mr. Markland, who was for many years Treasurer of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and who still rejoices to labour in this and every other kindred work of Christian love, proposed the endowment for this Sermon to the University of Oxford in the year 1847. The Hebdomadal Board, at their Meeting on the 1st of November, agreed to accept the proposal, and to appropriate the afternoon term of Trinity Sunday in each year to the delivery of the Sermon. The Preacher is appointed by the Vice-Chancellor; and the first Sermon was preached on Trinity Sunday, 1848. The suggestion, which led to this arrangement, was originally made to Mr. Markland by the present Bishop of Barbados, Dr. Parry, and the means for accomplishing it were placed at his disposal by another friend, whose name was not then permitted to be divulged, but who, it is now known, was the late Mrs. Ramsden. Mr. Markland has since made the like proposal to the University of Cambridge; and, on the 9th of February, 1848, the Grace was passed by the Senate that the Sermon should be preached 'on such Sunday of full Term, and by such Preacher as the Vice-Chancellor, for the time being, shall appoint.' In the letter, announcing to Mr. Markland this acceptance of his proposal, the assurance was also given of the sympathy felt by the University in the important object which he was so desirous to promote. See The Colonial Church Chronicle, &c. i. 238.

opened through which, under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, high thoughts of noble enterprise shall hereafter find access to many a heart which will not rest until they be accomplished.

And by the services of some of their most distinguished members.

The work, indeed, has been for years begun, and we can track its rapid and successful progress. In our own day and generation, we can count up the names of some of the choicest sons whom our Universities have nurtured, whose spirits have been, and are, kindled with the fire of this zeal; and the strongest energies of whose youthful, or matured, manhood have been devoted to this cause. Cambridge, for instance, clothed Henry Martyn with her brightest honours, as he stood upon the threshold of life; but brighter far was the halo which gathered round him, in the sequel of his brief career, when,—as the stedfast man of God, the faithful Pastor, the self-denying Missionary, the translator of Holy Scripture and the Church's Liturgy into the chief vernacular languages of the East, the patient and bold confessor of Christian truth in the midst of Mahomedan conclaves,—he, with the great Apostle of the Gentiles, counted "all things but loss for the excellency of Christ Jesus" his "Lord;" and "being dead, yet speaketh" (Phil. iii. 8; Heb. xi. 4). So likewise he, who, from the same University, drew forth those stores of learning which he has embodied in a work, that is justly ranked among the first of those which have augmented the scholarship and enriched the theology of our land, in the present age [13], has yet left a treasure behind him, a

Henry Martyn.

Bishop Middleton.

[13] The value of Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek Article has been, in no ordinary degree, enhanced by the observations which

hundredfold more precious, in the record of that unbending constancy with which he discharged the functions of the first Bishop of our Church, throughout our vast Indian Empire. And, who was the first to follow the path which Middleton thus opened? Was it not he whom Oxford, above all her sons most delighted to honour; and the greatness of whose fame is testified by the suffrages of all who have ever heard, and hearing, have loved, as they could not fail to love, the name, and person, of Reginald Heber? And that which has enshrined the memory of Heber within their hearts was not the remembrance of his early triumph, when, from the rostrum and amid the plaudits of the crowded theatre, he recited, in verses worthy of such a theme, the glories and the woes of Palestine; or of his influence in later years, when, from the academic pulpit, he announced the message of his heavenly Lord, in terms which chastened, instructed, quickened the spirits of those who, with breathless attention, there listened to him. It was not the consciousness only of the many gifts and graces which won for him, whithersoever he turned, the affections alike of the lowly and the great, of the unlearned and the wise,—his ardent piety, his unwearied charity, his rich acquirements, his vivid fancy, his cheerful temper, his gentle demeanour, his persuasive converse,—all which could give the world assurance of the poet, the scholar, the theologian, the Christian pastor, the affectionate and stedfast friend. Yet, was there a gift in him, the remembrance of which comes home more vividly to the mind than that

Bishop Heber.

the lamented Hugh James Rose prefixed to his excellent edition of the work in 1833.

of any other, even the obedience, with which he turned from all the enjoyments of home and the prospects of honour, in his native England, to exercise the duties of Bishop of the Church of Christ in her Eastern Empire. The noblest work in which he was eager to be engaged was 'to preach to the natives of India in their own language;' the highest distinction to which he aspired was that 'of being considered the MISSIONARY' of Christian truth, to the heathen in that country, and to the Church within its borders over which he was set in authority. His expression of this hope was the last which trembled upon his lips, when, amid prayers and tears, he bade farewell to the spiritual rulers, and presbyters, and lay-members of the Church, at their solemn meeting[41]; and all his best energies were employed to realise it. And, what though its realisation were not fully granted? "Yet surely," he might say,—although in a sense subordinate to that which attaches to the words in the Prophetic Volume,—"my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God." His sun went down, indeed, "while it was yet day" (Is. xlix. 4; Jer. xv. 9); but the beams of its reflected light still linger upon the horizon of those far-off climes, to animate and guide all who shall there be found walking in the same path of holiness with him.

Bishop Daniel Wilson.

The chain of cheering testimony does not terminate here. The names of others who followed Heber are enrolled in the

[41] Heber's Answer to the Valedictory Address of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. (Sermons in India, p. xxxvi.) The Special General Meeting at which these Addresses were delivered was held June 13, 1823; and, three days afterwards, the Bishop sailed for India.

annals of academic fame: and a more distinguished seal has been set upon them as Bishops of the Indo-British Church. He, who is now the Metropolitan of that Church, bears, in his own person, signal evidence to this fact. Appearing upon the same day with Heber, as the graduate prizeman in the rostrum of the Oxford theatre, and sharing with him the plaudits of that assembly [45]; and, like him, having gained in later years a conspicuous rank among the Clergy of the Church in this land; he has, in obedience to the call of God's good providence, left all that men esteem so precious in the society of friends and kindred,—and in few cases could such a sacrifice have been greater than in his own,—and has gone forth, not counting his "life dear unto" himself, "so that" he may "finish" his "course with joy, and the ministry which" he has "received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God" (Acts xx. 24). For a longer period than any of his predecessors, even twenty-four years, has he sustained—and long may he be still enabled to sustain!—the charge which rests upon him in the East. The unwearied preacher of the Word of righteousness, the intrepid champion of the truth, the upholder of the weak, the comforter of the afflicted, the reprover of the wayward, the zealous promoter of every plan by which the glory of God can be advanced, the munificent founder of the Cathedral and first Cathedral Chapter in Calcutta,—in a word, the vigilant and faithful shepherd of the flock of Christ entrusted to his hands, feeding them, and "taking the oversight

[45] The prize for the English Essay on 'Common Sense,' by Daniel Wilson, the present Bishop of Calcutta, and that for the Poem of 'Palestine' by Heber, were both gained in the same year, 1803.

thereof, not by constraint, but willingly" (1 Pet. v. 2), —is there exhibited to our view in Bishop Wilson. Ever must his name be held in grateful reverence, as among the foremost of that goodly band which, nurtured in the Universities of England, has gone forth to proclaim, to the remotest quarters of the globe, that Word which is her richest inheritance.

Encouragement arising therefrom.

We repeat, it is a goodly band which has thus gone forth. Let the reader direct his attention to the other Dioceses in Hindustan, China, Ceylon, the Indian Archipelago, Australia, New Zealand, Africa; then let him turn to contemplate the Dioceses in our West Indian Islands and Guiana, of Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Fredericton, Rupert's Land; and he will find among the Bishops, or subordinate Clergy of our Church, labouring in those different lands, men who have gained the highest honours in the Schools or Senate House; who have earned the more blessed distinction of faithful pastors in the villages and towns of England; who have rejoiced to devote the best of their strength to do the work of God, in fields where the toil is most arduous and the labourers most few; and who have departed, bearing with them the blessings and the prayers of multitudes, who here "esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake" (1 Thess. v. 13).

Corresponding duties.

Meanwhile, their departure has not made the work, which remains to be done at home, more difficult. On the contrary, it supplies the strongest evidence to show that the instruments, designed for the execution of that work, are themselves likewise increasing in numbers and in strength. For they who thus leave their native country, and they who

remain within it, are all members of the same body. And, since the energy of any one member is a proof that the life-blood, which sustains it, is circulating through the heart with regular and healthful impulse, it follows, that, all the members, which, by virtue of their union with the body and with each other, draw their vitality from the same source, must share, in some degree, the same healthful influence. "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it." The Church Domestic and the Church Colonial cannot be separated. They "are one body in Christ." Animated by the same spirit, and nourished by the same food, the secret of their strength or of their decay is revealed in each alike, and at the same time. They stand or fall together. The spectacle, therefore, of our brethren thus faithfully devoting themselves to the service of their God and Saviour, in distant lands, we hail as a testimony to prove, that, in spite of all our present difficulties, their spirit is largely shared by the ministers and lay-members of the Church at home. Their example strengthens and upholds that spirit: it bids those, who are already engaged in the same sacred calling, "stir up" with greater earnestness the "gift of God which is in" them (1 Cor. xii. 26; Rom. xii. 5; 2 Tim. i. 6). It summons also fresh companions to their side; and cheers all onward with the prospect of wider, speedier, more glorious conquests.

Let not the reader regard this as a needless digression from the narrative which we were pursuing. It is an anticipation, indeed, of facts which will be detailed, with greater minuteness, hereafter; but it has been made, for the purpose of confirming what has been before said with reference to the earliest appeals

made to our Universities, in behalf of our foreign possessions. The cry for help, which came from Virginia, soon after the accession of Charles II., was directed especially towards our Universities. Others, who heard that cry, and sought to relieve the wants to which it bore witness, looked also to our Universities as the source from which their help was to be obtained; and the 17th century did not close, before some direct and palpable results of such appeals were made manifest. True, the progress of those first results was afterwards hindered; and the appeals, which gave rise to them, were made, in a great measure, abortive. Nevertheless, the message, thus delivered, has not returned void unto Him that sent it. The secret of that blessed sympathy, which rejoices to give help to those that need it, has not been forfeited. The seed, although it has lain dormant, is not extinct, in those 'ancient and famous Nurseries of Piety and Learning.' The facts, which have been just adverted to, prove that it has sprung up, has borne, and is bearing, fruit in the East, in the South, and in the West. And, with the grateful recollection of these before us, let us return, and mark the trials to which the Church, in our Transatlantic Colonies, was exposed, in an earlier day.

Virginia.

The prayer of the Church in Virginia for help, urged though it was in terms of such affecting truth, and supported by the personal representations of the most zealous among her Clergy, was neglected; whilst other petitions, which were pushed forward by favourites of the court, for their private advantage, in the same province, met with instant favour. A lavish grant, for instance, of the whole territory of Virginia, accompanied with most ample privileges, was bestowed by Charles, for a term

of thirty-one years, upon Lords Arlington and Culpepper, in 1673[46]. Among the various powers secured to them by this instrument, was that of erecting 'parrishes, churches, colledges, chappells, ffree schools, alms houses,' &c., and endowing them 'with lands, tenements, goods, and chattles, at their free will and pleasure:' also, that of being 'sole and absolute patrons of all and every Church and Churches already built, or hereafter to be built, and endowed within those regions;' and of nominating and presenting 'able and fitt persons to be incumbents of the said churches, and masters of the said colledges, and ffree schools.' This grant was most distasteful to the Virginians, who sent home agents to procure its repeal; but without success. A fresh Charter, indeed, was promised; but when, after many delays, it was obtained, it proved to be little more than a declaration of the dependence of the Colony upon the Crown of England. In 1681, Arlington conveyed all his interest under the above grant to Culpepper; and the latter nobleman afterwards assigned his whole estate in the premises unto the King[47]. This was merely shifting the burden from one shoulder to another; it was no mitigation, or removal, of it. And the discontent thus created, added to the many other grievances of the Virginians, was no doubt the secret cause of the success which attended the first outbreak of Bacon's insurrection.

[46] Evelyn, in his Memoirs, describes Lord Culpepper as sitting with himself and others, as Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, in 1671; and Lord Arlington as 'plunged into debt exceedingly,' loving 'to have all things, rich, polite, and princely,' and 'the best bred and courtly person his Majesty has about him,' ii. 342. 431, 432.

[47] Hening, ii. 574. 522.

Upon the death of Jefferys, the successor of Berkeley, in 1678, Sir Henry Chicheley,—who had long been in the province, revered not less on account of his virtues than his years,—succeeded to the office of Deputy, and continued to fill it until Lord Culpepper, who had been appointed Lieutenant-governor by Charles as far back as the year 1675, arrived in 1680, to exercise his authority in person; and, even after that period, whenever Culpepper was absent, which not unfrequently happened, Chicheley acted as Deputy [48]. Culpepper found tranquillity restored in the province; and the ample powers of pardon with which he was invested, enabled him with greater ease to remove any discontents which might have remained after the insurrection of Bacon. He carried with him also Instructions precisely similar to those which have been already noticed in the case of Berkeley, with respect to Church matters [49]; and thus, as far as outward appearances could give hope of happiness under his government, there was good reason to cherish it. But his greedy and rapacious spirit brought misery upon the Colony and disgrace upon himself; and, as for the Instructions entrusted to him upon Church matters,—enforced as they were by the extraordinary powers contained in the Royal grant, adverted to above,—it was a mockery of religion to find such a man invested with any authority for such an end [50]. But the course of

Sir Henry Chicheley, deputy-governor under Lord Culpepper.

Arrival of Culpepper.

[48] Hening, ii. vii, viii.

[49] MSS. in State Paper Office (Virginia). See also Vol. i. 267, and pp. 1. 341, *ante*.

[50] All writers of American history concur in the same unfavour-

Culpepper was brief. Eager to escape from the irksomeness of a remote government, he returned to England, a few months after he had entered upon his office.

His vicious character and government.

A mandate from the King again drove him, in 1682, reluctantly to Virginia, where the evils of his misrule had already become apparent in the murmurs and insurrections of her people. These he restrained, for the time, by rigorous acts of authority; but the root of the mischief was still left behind. Culpepper was soon tempted to abandon his post, a second time, without orders; and, having appointed the Secretary, his relative, Nicholas Spencer, to act as President, returned to England. Upon his arrival there, he was arrested, and tried on certain charges of malpractices in the Colony; and, having been found guilty, the forfeiture of his Commission, which had been granted for life, was the sentence passed upon him [51].

His Commission forfeited.

His Report to the Committee of Colonies.

A Report had been previously delivered by Culpepper to the Committee of Colonies, of which the following particulars are worthy of notice, in connexion with our present subject:

'The ecclesiastical government,' he there states, 'is under his Majesty's governor, who grants probates of wills, and doth or

able description of Culpepper's character, and Burnet also represents him as 'a vicious and corrupt man.' Own Times, iii. 370.

[51] Hening, ii. vii; Chalmers, 338—345. Not long after his deposition, Culpepper having purchased the proprietary title of some land, formerly granted by Charles in the north of Virginia, was confirmed in its possession by James II., 'on account of the loyal services of that family, of which the only daughter and heiress married Lord Fairfax, who thus succeeded to that extensive domain.' Campbell's Virginia, p. 98.

ought to present to all livings, which ought to be worth threescore pounds a year, and are in number 76 or 77 [52]: But the poorness of the country, and the low price of tobacco, have made them of so much less value, scarcely the half; and the parishes, paying the ministers themselves, have used to claim the right of presentation, (or rather of not paying,) whether the governor will or not, which must not be allowed, and yet must be managed with great caution [53].'

Evils to which the Virginia Clergy were exposed.

In this brief statement, the reader will see enough to account for the wretched condition of Church affairs in Virginia, which has been described by Godwyn [54]. The government of the Clergy, nominally in the Governor, but really in the Vestries of their respective Parishes; the strongest motives of self-interest inducing the latter to deal fraudulently with the Clergy, and even to make their presentations to Parishes a nullity, by withholding altogether the endowment which the law required; the Governor, meanwhile, acknowledging the greatness of the wrong hereby committed, but evidently afraid, or unwilling, to remedy it; and no superior ecclesiastical officer at hand, to cheer, and sustain, and guide his brethren amid their difficulties; this was the melancholy state to which the Church was reduced, through the miscalled establishment of her by the State, in the earliest Colony of England. Her ministers were not at liberty to pursue their labours in any other course than that marked out for them by the boundaries of their respective Parishes, which, from time to time, had been constituted by Acts of the Grand Assembly; and yet,

[52] According to this statement, more than twenty additional Parishes must have been constituted in Virginia since the Restoration. I cannot but think the statement, in this respect, erroneous.

[53] Chalmers, 355—357.

[54] See pp. 350—352, *ante*.

if they remained within them, it was at the risk of being cheated, browbeaten, and insulted, by ignorant and sordid Vestries; and the people, spectators of the humiliating struggle, were not only deprived of their spiritual birthrights, but, seeing the men, at whose hands they ought to have received them, thus contemptuously treated, soon ceased to regard them with sympathy or with reverence. And yet, writers can be found, who ascribe the subsequent decay of the Church in Virginia to the enervating influences, produced among her Clergy, by the indulgence which they received from the government! Jefferson, for instance, asserts in express terms, that 'the great care of the government to support their own Church, having begotten an equal degree of indolence in its clergy, two-thirds of the people had become dissenters at the commencement of the revolution,' which led to the independence of the United States[55]. That the character of her Clergy was deteriorated, and a vast majority of her inhabitants alienated from the Church, by the treatment to which they were exposed in the Colony, there can be no question. But, let these evils be ascribed to their right cause, and not be represented as the consequences of 'the great care of the government to support their own Church;' when the fact is that they are witnesses to prove the neglect by the government of its proper duties, and the wretched contrivances resorted to for the purposes of concealing it. The Church, of which the Governors of Virginia were members, was Episcopal. To entrust her, therefore, to the controul of any other authority than that of her appointed

Jefferson's misstatements on the subject.

[55] Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 262.

ruler, the Bishop, was to contradict the very title which she bore upon her front, and to forfeit those rights and privileges which the terms of her spiritual Charter conferred upon her: it was to take from the vessel its pilot, and from the members of the body its head. And, what but prostration and death could follow? Better far had it been for the Church in Virginia,—if the only question were, whether she should be endowed from the outset or not,—that, with a Bishop at her head, he and his Clergy had been left, at first, to minister with their own "hands unto" their "necessities" (Acts xx. 34), than that, without a Bishop, she should have been encumbered with the Statutes of a Grand Assembly. In the one case, her real life would have had room to put forth its energies; in the other, it was overlaid and crushed.

Evils to which Virginia was exposed from the adjoining territories.

Another evil to which Virginia was exposed at this time, was the condition of the neighbouring Colonies, Carolina and Maryland. The former is described by Culpepper, in the above Report, as 'the sink of America, the refuge of renegadoes' from Virginia, and therefore 'dangerous' to her; and the latter, as being 'in a ferment, and not only troubled with poverty,' the 'disease' of Virginia, 'but in a very great danger of falling in pieces.' Lastly, slavery was making rapid progress throughout the province; and, the over cultivation of tobacco is mainly ascribed, in the same document, to the number of 'blacks' who had been bought for that purpose[56].

[56] In the Instructions to Lord Culpepper, a clause occurs forbidding the Virginians to trade with any territory within the Charter of the Royal African Company; a signal proof of the jealousy with which the monopoly of the Slave Trade was protected.

Effingham, the successor of Culpepper.

In August, 1683, Francis, Lord Effingham, was appointed Culpepper's successor, not for life, as former Governors had been, but only during pleasure. It was the last recorded act of Charles II. in Virginia. Her condition was not much improved by this change of rulers; for, although some beneficial Acts were passed by her Assembly, under Effingham, his chief motive in obtaining the Commission was to enrich himself; and the eagerness with which he is said to have 'shared with his clerks,' the fees which he took care to provide for them, proves that he was little scrupulous as to the means of attaining his end. Meanwhile, the power of publishing their complaints, or of obtaining any redress for their many grievances, were for a time effectually denied to the Virginians; for one of the orders imposed on Effingham was, that he should 'allow no person to use a printing press on any occasion whatsoever.' Some inhabitants of the province had ventured to look for a more prosperous administration of affairs, under James II.; but their hopes were speedily put to flight; and the joy, with which they had congratulated that monarch, upon the defeat of Monmouth's rebellion, was strangely repaid by finding Virginia made the place of transportation and servitude for his convicted followers[57]. I have already described the circumstances under which this Colony was first made, in 1620, a receptacle for transported convicts; and the evils which she suffered, both then and afterwards, from the continuance of the system, amply bear out the remarks there made, and will be found to constitute not the least of the trials through which she had

[57] Chalmers, 345—358.

to pass [58]. In the present instance, however, much of the evil was avoided by the Colonists acting in open defiance of the King's orders, and treating with kindness the men whom he would have confined to ignominious drudgery.

Returns to England.

An end was soon put to the rule of Effingham; and, returning home, early in 1688, to answer the charges which the people, in spite of all his efforts to silence them, had preferred against him, he returned no more to Virginia. The pressure of other interests, which the Revolution in England then brought with it, and the unwillingness which William III. naturally felt to enter, at such a moment, into the consideration of matters at a distance, saved Effingham from a formal dismissal. He contrived to retain his office for four years longer; but its duties were discharged by deputy [59].

The sentiments of Virginia with regard to the Revolution.

It is interesting to observe the sentiments of Virginia, during the crisis of the English Revolution. The following letter to the Privy Council from Spencer, who was still Secretary, presents a remarkable description of it:

'May it please y^r^ Lordships,

'The duty incumbent on y^e^ office of Secretary in this Dominion, in which I have had the hon^r^ for some yeares to serve, oblidges me to give y^r^ Lordships an account of the present state of affaires, and let y^r^ Lordships know such occurrencies as have happened here of late (viz^t^) that the mutations in England have extended their influences as far as these remoter Dominions; for noe sooner did y^e^ news of the late admired transactions arrive here, tho' but imperfectly noised, and that with little probabilitie of truth, but it begun to be in the mouths of the mobile, that there was noe King in

[58] Vol. i. p. 262.

[59] Grahame, i. 134.

England, and consequently noe Government here; upon this surmise followed rumors and reports that ye Papists in Maryland, together with those amongst us, have machinated to bring great numbers of fforraigne Indians to the destruction of the Protestants of both Dominions, and had prefixed a certaine time when the blow was to be given:—these tho' false and groundless reports raised great fears and jealousies in the minds of ye multitude, and soon made them gather together in armes to repel ye supposed designs of ye Papists; and soe great a flame was kindled by the blasts of popular breath, that if it had not been timely prevented by ye vigilance, care, and prudence of some of ye Councell and others, in the very beginning of it, must have unavoidably proved fatall to both Dominions: and tho' it soon appeared those rumors were vaine and idle, and the people in some sort quieted, yet others like Hydra's head sprung up in their places, to ye great disquiet of this Government, and it was rationally believed that the difficulties of keeping this Dominion free from tumults, divisions, and depredations, would have been insuperable, had not the news of the happy accession of the Prince and Princess of Orange to the Crown of England arrived here, with orders from their Majties most Honble privy Councell, for proclaiming of the same, given check to unruly spiritts; wch Proclamation was effected at James Citty with all possible speed, and with as great solemnity as the shortness of time and the necessity of the present circumstances would admitt of; and the Proclamations are now goeing forth into all the Counties of this Dominion, that none may be ignorant of it, and the great cause of their tumults (vizt the beliefe that there was noe King in England, and consequently noe Government here) may be removed, and peace and tranquillity restored and established among them, wch that it may succeed is ye dayly prayer of all loyall subjects here, and particularly of

Right Honble
Yor Lordships' most dutifull
and most obedt Sert
NICHO. SPENCER[60].'

James Citty,
April 29th, 1689.

Governors Andros and Nicholson.

Nathaniel Bacon was first appointed President of the General Court, during

[60] MSS. (Virginia) State Paper Office.

Effingham's absence; and, in 1690, Nicholson was appointed to that office until 1692, when Sir Edmund Andros arrived as Governor, in the place of Effingham. In 1698, Andros, in his turn, was dismissed, and succeeded by Nicholson, who thus became a second time ruler of the province [61].

The Rev. James Blair, Commissary.

The period included in the three last-named administrations is remarkable for the efforts which were made to place the government of the Clergy in Virginia upon a better footing, and to secure to the inhabitants of that and of the adjoining provinces, the benefits of education. Upon the day after Nicholson's first installation in office, the licence of the Rev. James Blair, Commissary of the Bishop of London, was laid before the Council [62]. By virtue of this Commission he had authority, as representative of the Bishop, to make Visitations throughout the territory assigned to him, and to enquire into and correct the discipline of the Churches within it. A remedy, therefore, was provided against some of the evils which prevailed; but it was imperfect. It did not secure the complete exercise of the duties of the Episcopal office. The Commissary could neither confirm, nor ordain, nor consecrate. Nevertheless, as a step taken in a right direction, the appointment is thankfully to be acknowledged, both for its intrinsic importance, and the valuable services of him upon

[61] Hening, iii. ii.

[62] The judicial office of Commissary had at first been vested in Governors of Colonies; but, in 1695, the Governor and Assembly of Maryland agreed in a petition to William and Mary, to transfer it, as a purely ecclesiastical office, to the Bishop of London, and wrote to the Bishop, requesting him to send over a Clergyman to discharge its duties. Bray's Life in Biog. Brit. p. 968, note D.

whom it was now conferred. It is said, indeed, that, before the time of Blair, some of the duties of Commissary had been performed in Virginia by the Rev. Mr. Temple; but neither the express terms of his Commission, nor the date of his arrival or departure, are to be found any where [63].

Blair's previous life.

Blair was a native of Scotland, and had been admitted into Holy Orders in that country. The painful struggle which the Church had to maintain there against her many adversaries, and the aggravated difficulties thrown in her way by the policy of the secular rulers who professed to befriend her, had driven the holy Leighton from his Diocese. It can excite no wonder, therefore, to find, that, from the same cause, and, probably, about the same time, Blair also was constrained to come to England. Compton was then Bishop of London, having been translated from Oxford, in 1675. The energy and zeal of Blair soon attracted his notice; and, mainly by his advice, Blair went out, as a missionary, to Virginia, about the year 1685. Nothing can be imagined more discouraging than the field of duty which there awaited him; and that he entered upon it with a resolute and faithful heart, and bore himself at first, amid all dangers, with firmness and discretion, is evident from the fact, that, in a few years after his arrival, he was appointed to the responsible post of Commissary [64].

His energy and zeal in Virginia.

William and

The first great work which Blair took

[63] Burk's Virginia, ii. 310.

[64] Waterland's Recommendatory Preface to the second Edition of Blair's Sermons, Works, vi. 327, &c. Doddridge frequently refers to Blair's Volumes in his notes on the Sermon on the Mount, and always with highest praise. Family Expositor, *in loc.*

in hand was the revival of the project which had been made soon after the Restoration, for the institution of a College in Virginia. Unable at first to obtain assistance from the legislature, and having to encounter objections from several chief proprietors in the Colony, who, it was said, urged that the design 'would take our planters off from their mechanical employments, and make them grow too knowing to be obedient and submissive[65],' he sought the aid of private friends; and, in a short time, received £2500, chiefly given,—to their credit be it acknowledged!—by merchants of the city of London. Nicholson also showed his readiness to help. He had received from the Grand Assembly, at the close of their first session after his appointment, £300, 'in testimony of their attachment to him, and the deep sense they entertained of his virtues and obliging demeanour;' and, although he had obtained express permission from the Crown to retain the sum, notwithstanding the general instructions issued to the Governors of our American Colonies that they should accept no presents, he yet presented one half to the College: exhibiting herein a striking contrast to the greedy and avaricious spirit of his predecessors, Culpepper and Effingham. In every quarter, Blair was seen striving to promote this important work; and, having at length received authority from the provincial legislature to present to William and Mary the Petition for a Charter to found the College, he proceeded to England for that purpose. He found it no easy task to execute the trust committed to him. The Petition indeed which Blair had to support was

Mary College.

[65] Burnet's Own Times, iv. 210.

granted, chiefly, it is said, through the influence of Queen Mary[66]; and the King gave to the furtherance of the design £2000 due to the Crown from Virginia on account of certain quit-rents. But Blair met, at every step, with difficulties and discouragements, in securing the privileges thus promised to him. The brutal answer returned to him by Seymour, the English Attorney General at that time, whose office it was to prepare the required Charter, may be cited as an instance. Sorely against his will, Seymour entered upon the execution of that duty; for he looked upon the establishment of the College as an useless project, and the proposed endowment for it as money wasted. When Blair represented to him that its design was to educate young men for the University, and begged him to consider that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved as well as the people of England, the answer of Seymour was, 'Souls! damn your souls! make tobacco[67]!' Nothing daunted by the opposition made to him, Blair went forward with the work; and, in the prosecution of it, exhibited the same resolute spirit,—a spirit indeed which led him, as we shall soon see, by its very energy, sometimes into painful and unseemly contests, but which was never degraded by any sordid or selfish aims. The Charter, appointing the College to be called by the name of William and Mary, was at length signed, February 8, 1692-3; and, in the autumn of the same year, the General Assembly passed an Act for the erection of the building upon ground between the York and James Rivers,

[66] Burnet's Own Times, iv. 209.

[67] Franklin's Correspondence, quoted in Campbell's Introduction to the History of Virginia, p. 101, *note*.

called the Middle Plantation, which was selected, six years afterwards, as the site of 'the Capitoll and City of Williamsburgh.' Another Act, imposing certain dues upon skins and furs, was passed, at the same time, for the support of the institution. A further donation of 20,000 acres of choice land, and the proceeds of a tax upon tobacco, were appropriated to the same object. The privilege also of returning a Burgess to the General Assembly was conferred upon the College; and Blair was appointed its first President [68].

Thus far the work had gone on prosperously. But Blair was destined to encounter many more difficulties and discouragements in the prosecution of that and other kindred designs. The building of the College, planned by Sir Christopher Wren, was begun at one end of the chief street of the new capital. But, in 1705, when the building was about half finished, it was totally destroyed by fire [69]. Blair recommenced the work with unshaken perseverance and courage, and, in a few years more, the edifice was finished. It is probable, that, after this accident of the fire, many deviations from the original plan, all tending to disfigure it, were introduced; for the structure has since been spoken of in terms which can never be applied to any work of the consummate architect who first

[68] Hening, iii. 122—124. 197. 241. 419. Burk, ii. 312—314. The latter Author has copied his account of the College nearly verbatim (and with only a general acknowledgment) from Beverley, p. 88, &c.; but has omitted the following remark of Beverley, that 'it was a great satisfaction to the Archbishops and Bishops to see such a nursery of Religion founded in the New World; especially for that it was begun in an Episcopal way, and carried on wholly by zealous conformists to the Church of England.' Ib.

[69] Burk, ii. 329.

designed it, as a 'huge, misshapen pile, which, but that it has a roof, would be taken for a brick-kiln[70].' Reserving to a later period the further history of the College, I would now briefly notice the other trials to which Blair and his brethren were now exposed. The Clergy of the province had petitioned Andros, soon after his arrival as Governor, for an increase of their stipends, which, it has been already shown, were placed upon a most precarious footing. Their petition was forwarded to the House of Burgesses, who refused to comply with it: alleging, that the Clergy had

Refusal of the House of Burgesses to redress their grievances.

'considerable perquisites by marriages, burials, and glebes, generally of the best lands, not less in most places than four or five hundred acres, and in some places near twice that quantity; which glebes are well provided with houses, orchards, fences, and pastures, to that degree, that most, if not all, the ministers of this country are in as good a condition in point of livelihood as a gentleman that is well seated, and hath twelve or fourteen servants;' and, further, that they were 'assured by their observation and certaine knowledge that, where the ministers have proved frugall men, they have still raised their fortunes; from which it cannot but be necessarily concluded that the greatest part of the clergy are well content with their present provision, and that all informations made to the contrary, have proceeded from none but such as are too avaritiously inclined.'

The above document is dated April 30, 1695, and certainly seems to make out a strong case against any further grant to the Clergy. The reader's attention, therefore, is now requested to the answer, addressed to Andros, by the Clergy at a meeting held in 'James Citty,' June 25, 1696. After referring to a former message from the Crown to the House of Burgesses, recommending a better settlement of the question at

[70] Morse's Geography, *in loc.*

issue, and its rejection by the House for the reasons stated in the above document, they crave leave to make a true representation of their circumstances:

The answer of the Clergy.

'As to our salarys in Tobacco,' say they, 'which wee are obliged to receive at twelve shillings ye hundred, wee cannot but look upon it as a great grievance, when no other persons besides ourselves are obliged to take Tobacco at so high a rate. And your Excellᵞ knows his Majᵗʸ's Quitt Rents, which consist of the same sort of Tobacco, are not sold for so much as half that price.

'As to our considerable Perquisites, wee beg leave to inform your Excellᵞ that wee have noe Perquisites but for marriages and a few funerall Sermons, and that by a computation wee have made of the Perquisites of the generality of our Parishes, wee find they do not amount *cõunibus Annis* to above five pounds *per annum*.

'And for our Glebes, wʰ are so ornamentally describ'd by the said House of Burgesses, wee do averr that in many Parishes, there are no Glebes at all; and that, in severall Parishes that have Glebes, they are detayn'd from the possession of the minister; and that where it is otherwise, that the possession is allow'd to the minister, they are so destitute of houses, orchards, and other conveniences, that they are no way fitting for his commodious reception and accommodation, and, one with another, are not worth above forty or fifty shillings per annum.

'And, wʰ is as grievous as all the rest, wee hold these mean Liveings so precariously, that (not being inducted) we are at all times liable to be turn'd out of them at the Vestry's pleasure, without any canonicall objections either alleadged or proved against us.

'So that wee must unanimously own that the circumstances of the Clergy of this Colony are most deplorable, and that the representation which was made thereof to his Majᵗʸ as such, was a good service to this Church, and pursuant to the earnest desires of the Clergy thereof at their Generall Meeting in the year 1690.

'And therefore Wee humbly pray, That since the House of Burgesses hath shew'd so much averseness to the relief of the Clergy, Your Excellency would be pleased to make a favourable representation of our sad circumstances to His Most Gracious Majᵗʸ, and to intercede for us, that the same may be relieved in

such way and manner as to his Royall wisdom and goodness shall seem most fitt and convenient.

James Blair, Commissary,

Cope D'Oyly,	Ch. Anderson,
James Sclater,	Jno. Monro,
Wm. Williams,	ffran ffordyce,
Henry Pretty,	Jonathan Sanders,
Joseph Holt,	And. Cant,
Geo. Robinson,	John Alexander,
John Ball,	Ja. Wallace[71].'
And. Monro,	

It may be said, that these documents only furnish us with statement against statement, and supply no reason why more credit should be given to the one than to the other. Other testimony, however, is at hand, which proves that this Address from the Clergy carried conviction with it; for, in the next Session of the Grand Assembly, Sept. 24, 1696, an Act was passed 'for the better supply and maintenance of the Clergy,' which,—having acknowledged that the existing laws in their behalf seemed 'verry deficient and uncertain,'—provided that the salary of every minister should be fixed at 'the sume of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco, besides their lawfull perquisites;' and that the Vestries should 'purchase and lay out a tract of land for the glebe att the discretion and att the charge of their respective Parishes, and likewise build and erect a convenient dwelling-house for the reception and aboad of the minister[72].' Such an Act never would have emanated from the House of Burgesses so soon after their favourable report touching the temporal condition of the Clergy, had it not been ascer-

[71] MSS. (Virginia) State Paper Office.
[72] Hening, iii. 151.

tained that the report was untrue, and that the circumstances of the Clergy were, indeed, as they themselves stated, 'most deplorable.'

Another specimen of the difficulties with which Blair had to contend, and which were chiefly caused by his own over zealous and tenacious spirit, is found in the proceedings of the Council in Virginia. Blair had been admitted a member of it, July 21, 1694, two days after Nicholson had left to assume the temporary government of Maryland; and one of the earliest occasions upon which I find him taking a prominent part in its proceedings, was in the case of Mr. George Hudson, a Clergyman, who had arrived in the Colony without a licence from the Bishop of London, but who, upon proof of the validity of his Letters of Orders, and the acknowledgment of his error made through Mr. Commissary Blair, was, 'no further restrained or discouraged from the exercise of his ministerial function.' A few months after this, in April, 1695, Blair's name occurs again, in connexion with an affair which must be admitted to cast upon him great discredit. A charge was brought against him, of having disputed the authority of the Government upon some ecclesiastical and parochial matters, and of having drawn comparisons, to the disparagement of Andros, between his character and that of Nicholson. His functions, as a member of the Council, were suspended upon the first announcement of these charges; and, after enquiry had been made into the truth of them, the Minutes state that

Blair dismissed from the Council.

'Mr. Blair nor shewing any reason for any of his unjust reflections, nor so much as extenuating the same, the Councill are still of

opinion that the s^d Mr. Blair ought not to sitt at the Councill Board[73].'

It is quite evident that the conduct of Blair in this matter, was open to grave censure; for, situated as he was, silence was no defence against such charges. Some justification, indeed, of his silence may have presented itself to his own mind; but I have not been able to ascertain what it was. Andros wrote home, in the following terms, an account of what had occurred:

'Being exceedingly concerned for the occasion of representing to your Grace[74], that Mr. Commissary Blair, President of the Colledge, and one of their Maj^ties Councill, would not be obliged by all endeavours, nor containe himselfe within bounds, I beg leave to say to your Grace, that his restless comport I ever passed by, till the whole Councill for his demeanour before them, faulting him as unfitt to be in Councill, I thought it my duty, and necessary for their Maj^ties service, importing the Government authority here, to suspend him from assisting or attending in Councill till further orders, as I made it my constant care to give all disposition and furtherance in all matters that relate to the Church or Colledge, so I do not yet heare of any omission or neglect on my part, all which is humbly submitted to y^r Grace, by

'Y^r Grace's obed^t and most Hum^ble Servant,

'E. Andros.'

Defec s in Blair's character.

The above facts prove that, with all Blair's excellent qualities, he lacked the patience, and gentleness, and forbearance which are among the choicest graces of the Christian character. It may be said that Andros was an arbitrary and despotic Governor, and that Blair was only

[73] MSS. (Virginia) State Paper Office.

[74] The endorsement of this letter shows that it was written by Andros to the Duke of Shrewsbury, who was at that time Principal Secretary of State.

betrayed into an excess of zeal, by the necessity imposed upon him of resisting any invasion of the spiritual offices of the Church. But, it can hardly be supposed that the six members of Council, who were present when the Minute recording Blair's suspension was agreed to, should have been equally unjust towards the Commissary. Besides which, it unfortunately happens, that the quarrel with Andros, who, with all his despotism, was yet a strenuous promoter of the designs in which Blair was interested, stands not alone. After the departure of that officer, and the re-appointment of Nicholson, to whom, both on personal and public grounds, the members of the Church in Virginia felt themselves under very great obligation, Blair came into collision also with him. Thus,—to anticipate, for a moment, the course of our history,—I find, at an early period of Queen Anne's reign, May 1, 1705, that Nicholson was compelled to lay some papers before the House of Burgesses, in answer to certain charges which had been preferred against his government by Blair and others[75]. These charges related to certain matters which fell not properly within Blair's province; and, in the triumphant answer which the Governor then addressed to the House, he was provoked to say of the zealous Commissary, 'If he is no better a Divine than a Soldier, I think he understands Divinity very little.' It is a subject of thankfulness, indeed, to find that this temporary collision between Blair and Nicholson did not

[75] I may here remark, that among the various documents of this period in the State Paper Office, are several lists of French Protestant refugees, to whom assistance was given in Virginia by Governor Nicholson, at the express desire of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London.

produce any lasting mischief to the Church in the Colony. Blair continued, even at the advanced age of eighty-eight, to discharge the important duties there entrusted to him, whilst his published Discourses continued to win for him the admiration of the pious and learned among his countrymen at home[76]. Nevertheless, the path which he had to traverse would have been less arduous, the benefit which he sought to secure to the Church more valuable, and his own character more free from blemish, had he forborne to enter into the unseemly contests above mentioned.

MARYLAND.

Passing on now to Maryland, the previous history of which has been given, in the ninth and tenth chapters, we find, that, upon the death of Cecil Lord Baltimore, in 1675, his son Charles, Deputy-governor of the province, returned to England; but not until he had convened the Assembly, which employed itself in revising and amending the existing laws of the province. The government was carried on, during his absence, by a Commission, acting in the name of his infant son, Cecil[77]. His main business at home was to answer complaints brought against him with respect to the condition of his Colony. Those urged by the Virginians, touching the defenceless state of the frontier, proved groundless. Another complaint was laid by Compton, Bishop of London, before the Committee of Plantations, founded upon a letter, from the Rev. Mr. Yeo, of Patuxent, in Maryland, to Sheldon, who was then in the last year of his Primacy[78]. Chalmers

The Rev. Mr. Yeo's letter concerning our

[76] Waterland, in the Recommendatory Preface before referred to, and published in 1740, speaks of Blair as probably then alive.

[77] Chalmers, 364; M'Mahon, i. 215.

[78] Sheldon died in 1676, and was succeeded by Sancroft.

has only given a part of the letter, and even that not literally; and the remarks of M'Mahon and Hawks rest only upon this imperfect extract. I have thought it better, therefore, to give the whole letter, as I have copied it from the original MS. in the State Paper Office: Church there.

'Most Reverend Father,

'Be pleased to pardon this presumption of mine in presenting to y^or^ serious notice these rude and undigested lines, w^ch^ (with humble submission) are to acquaint y^or^ Grace with y^e^ deplorable estate and condition of the Province of Maryland, for want of an established ministry. Here are in this Province ten or twelve countys, and in them at least twenty thousand soules, and but three Protestant ministers of us y^t^ are conformable to y^e^ doctrine and discipline of y^e^ Church of England. Others there are, (I must confess,) y^t^ runne before they are sent, and pretend they are ministers of the Gospell, y^t^ never had a legall call or ordination to such an holy office; neither (indeed) are they qualified for it, being, for the most part, such as never understood any thing of learning, and yet take upon them to be dispencers of y^e^ Word, and to administer y^e^ Sacrament of Baptisme; and sow seeds of division amongst y^e^ people, and no law provided for y^e^ suppression of such in this Province. Society here is in great necessitie of able and learned men to confute the gainsayers, especially having soe many profest enemies as the Popish Priests and Jesuits are, who are incouraged and provided for. And y^e^ Quaker takes care and provides for those y^t^ are speakers in their conventicles; but noe care is taken, or provision made, for the building up Christians in the Protestant Religion, by means whereof not only many dayly fall away either to Popery, Quakerisme, or Phanaticisme, but also the Lord's Day is prophaned, religion despised, and all notorious vices committed; so that it is become a Sodom of uncleannesse, and a pest-house of iniquity. I doubt not but y^or^ Grace will take it into consideration, and do y^or^ utmost for our eternall welfare; and now is y^e^ time y^t^ y^or^ Grace may be an instrument of a universall reformation with greatest facillity. Cæcilius Lord Barron Baltemore, and absolute Propriator of Maryland being dead, and Charles Lord Barron Baltemore and our Governour being bound for England this year, (as I am informed,) to receive a farther confirmation of y^e^ Province

from His Majestie, at w^ch time, I doubt not, but y^or Grace may soe prevaile with him, as y^t a maintenance for a Protestant ministry may be established as well in this Province as in Virginia, Barbados, and all other His Majestie's plantations in West Indies: and then there will be incouragement for able men to come amongst us, and y^t some person may have power to examine all such ministers as shall be admitted into any county or parish, in w^t Diocis and by w^t Bishop they were ordained, and to exhibit their l^rs of Orders to testifie the same, as y^t I think y^e generalitie of the people may be brought by degrees to a uniformitie; provided we had more ministers y^t were truly conformable to our mother y^e Church, and none but such suffered to preach amongst us. As for my own p^t, (God is my witness,) I have done my utmost indeavour in order thereunto, and shall, (by God's assistance,) whiles I have a being here, give manifest proof of my faithfull obedience to the Canons and Constitutions of our sacred mother.

'Yet one thing cannot be obtained here, (viz.) Consecration of Churches and Church-yards, to y^e end y^t Christians might be decently buried together, whereas now they bury in the severall plantations where they lived: unless y^or Grace thought it sufficient to give a Dispensation to some pious ministers (together with y^e manner and forme) to doe y^e same. And confident I am y^t you will not be wanting in any thing y^t may tend most to God's glorie and the good of the Church, by w^ch you will engage thousands of soules to pray for y^or Grace's everlasting happinesse, but especially,

'Y^or most obedient Son and Servant,
'JOHN YEO.'

Patuxant River, in Maryland,
25th day of May, 1676.

M'Mahon's unfair imputations on the Clergy.

M'Mahon, the historian of Maryland, has said, most unjustly, of the Clergy who made or supported this statement, that they were influenced only by sordid and mercenary motives, and were envious of the endowments of the Romish Priesthood. It never seems to have entered his mind that men, ordained to preach the Gospel, should have been animated with the single and sincere

desire to remove the difficulties which obstructed the execution of their trust. Hawks has very properly censured M'Mahon for having cast so unfair an imputation upon the Maryland Clergy[79]; but, among the reasons which he has offered in their defence, he has overlooked the important fact, that their present appeal was simply a petition for the enjoyment of a right distinctly promised under the original Charter; one of its chief provisions having been, that all Churches and Chapels hereafter erected in the province, should be 'dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of the Kingdom of England.' I have already pointed out the unfairness of delegating such a provision to a Roman Catholic Proprietor; and have described both the equitable and humane spirit of Baltimore and his descendants, and the shameful return which they met with from the many contending sectaries who soon swarmed throughout the province[80]. Nevertheless, the disadvantages, under which the Church of England, in spite of the plain provisions of the Charter in her favour, was placed by the events which occurred, were very great; and the remembrance of them ought to have led the historian of Maryland to spare his reproaches upon her Clergy.

Answer of the Privy Council Committee.

A letter from Archbishop Sheldon to Bishop Compton, requesting him to lay Yeo's statement and Baltimore's answer to it before the Privy Council Committee, is still extant. Baltimore had pleaded in his answer, the impossibility of applying an immediate or complete

[79] M'Mahon, i. 216; Hawks's Ecclesiastical Contributions (Maryland), p. 50.

[80] See Vol. i. pp. 478—481; and pp. 29—32, *ante*.

remedy to the evil complained of. The character of the existing laws, and the strange, incongruous opinions of the men who formed a majority in the Assembly of Maryland, alike prevented it. Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, constituted three-fourths of the population; and the four Clergy of the Church of England already in the province, he affirmed, had a decent subsistence[81]. The Committee, therefore, seeing that it was impracticable to deal with the matter immediately in the way proposed, and trusting to the mildness and equity of Baltimore's character contented themselves with recommending to him, in general terms, the necessity of adopting some further steps towards the support of the Maryland Clergy.

Endowments of land for the Church given by individual members.

Upon the return of Baltimore to his government, no new laws appear to have been passed, which bore directly upon the question at issue. Several indeed were enacted, after his government had ceased; and, in 1694, five hundred and fifty acres of land were granted by a Lay member of our Church for the maintenance of a Clergyman in Baltimore County; and, in 1696, the personal estate of another was given, for the same use, to St. George's and Poplar Hill Hundred[82].

But these efforts in behalf of our Church in Maryland, it will be seen, availed little to their proposed end, as long as the guidance of her natural and proper rulers was withheld from her.

Difficulties of the province.

Meanwhile, the elements of disturbance, which had long existed, and were brought into active operation by events which were

[81] MSS. (Maryland) State Paper Office.

[82] Bacon's Laws, quoted by Hawks, ut sup.

passing at home, as well as in the province, made still more difficult the work which Yeo and his brethren were striving to accomplish. The large numerical preponderance of Protestant sectaries, who, from the time of their first settlement in the Colony, had unceasingly thwarted and vexed its Roman Catholic Proprietor, received a fresh impulse from the alarms which were created by real, or pretended, Popish conspiracies at home; and, availing himself of this opportunity, Fendall[83] appeared again as a leader of insurrection. Happily, his designs were frustrated, and he himself was banished; but Baltimore was threatened with yet more formidable dangers from home. Upon the charge, groundless as it afterwards proved, of showing undue favour towards the Roman Catholics of his province, Charles commanded him to put all offices into the hands of Protestants, and to refund a large sum which, it was said, had been wrongfully kept back from the Crown. Upon Baltimore's arrival in England to avert the dangers which were gathering around him, the accession of James took place. But this event brought no relief to Baltimore, notwithstanding that the King and he were both members of the same religious communion. The King's avowed dislike of the administration of any Colonial government, which was not immediately dependent upon the Crown; and the other designs which he entertained against the liberties of the English people, made him deaf to the defence which Baltimore pleaded on his own behalf. A writ of *Quo Warranto* was directed, in April, 1687, to issue against the Charter of Maryland, but before judgment

[83] See p. 35, *ante*.

could be obtained, the tyrant monarch himself had abdicated the government[84].

The Proprietary government abolished.

During the absence of Baltimore from the province, his authority was entrusted to Deputies; and, for some time, no fresh disturbances appeared. But the jealousy, cherished by the majority of the inhabitants against a Roman Catholic Proprietor, aggravated as it could not fail to be, by tidings of events which took place in England, waited only for an opportunity to make known its violence. The opportunity was soon afforded, by the measures of defence which the Deputy-governors thought it their duty to take against the apprehended invasion of England by the Dutch. The cry forthwith went abroad, that the Papists had leagued with the Indians to destroy all Protestants. Unfortunately, a delay in transmitting the commands of Baltimore, to proclaim William and Mary in the Colony, afforded a specious pretext for believing that he and his deputies were secretly inclined to the cause of James; and an armed association was formed, in April, 1689, 'for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for asserting the right of King William and Queen Mary to that province, and all the English dominions.' At the head of this Association was a man, named John Coode, who, it was said, had once entered into Holy Orders, but whose life was a shameless disavowal of all that was just and true. Assuming, at one time, the office of a colonel of militia, and, at another, that of a receiver of customs, and having already borne a part in Fendall's insurrection, he became notorious for his

[84] Chalmers, 368—372; M'Mahon, i. 217—220.

profligacy and open advocacy of infidel and blasphemous opinions, for which he was, at a later period, tried and committed. Retribution came upon him in the end; but, meanwhile, his name attached infamy to any design which he was zealous to promote. In the present instance, indeed, the movement with which he was connected, brought about a complete revolution in the constitution of Maryland. The Deputy-governors were unable to resist the force brought against them. A house of delegates was then formed, by which 'Articles of Grievances' were framed and forwarded to the King, urging the abolition of the Proprietary government, and declaring the Colony absolved from paying any allegiance to it. William granted their prayer; and, sanctioning a course of proceedings which, if rightly designated, could be called nothing else than flat rebellion, gave orders that the government of the province should, for the present, be carried on, in his name, by the self-appointed Convention. In June, 1691, he constituted Maryland a Royal Colony; and, upon the arrival of Sir Lionel Copley, the Governor, in the following year, the Convention was dissolved, and the Crown of England formally recognised as the sole source of all authority [85].

Remarks thereon.

I am not here called upon to consider the merits of the grievances which the members of the above Convention brought forward in justification of their acts. But, as the history of all revolutions is a history of authority provoking resistance by misrule, they were probably neither so frivolous or unjust as Chalmers represents them. At all events, in the list furnished by him, one is set forth,

[85] Chalmers, 370—384; M'Mahon, i. 229—240.

of which it is impossible to deny the truth, namely this:

'The Churches, which by the Charter should be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, are converted to the use of Popish idolatry.'

The reader has but to refer to the Charter, and he will see that it plainly provided that all the Churches in the Colony should be so consecrated. The greatness, therefore, as well as the consequences of that error, which Charles I. and his counsellors, and the first Lord Baltimore, alike committed,—they, in granting, and he, in receiving, such a trust, under the circumstances in which he was placed,—are here made manifest; and, if proof be required of the fact, that crime brings with it its own punishment, certainly none can be supplied more strong than that which exhibits his descendants, at an interval of little more than fifty years, charged with the violation of that trust, and stripped of all the ample privileges and prerogatives which accompanied it.

The Church of England established in Maryland.

The first Act of the Maryland Assembly, under a Royal Governor, declared the authority of William and Mary; the second, 'the establishment of the Protestant Religion;' and herein the inviolability of the rights and franchises of the Church; the division of the ten Counties into thirty-one Parishes; the constitution of Vestries; and the imposition of a tax of 40 lbs. of tobacco per poll, upon each taxable person in the province, as a fund for the building or repairing of Churches, or the support of the minister, or other pious uses. The number of Clergy at this time, according to some accounts, amounted to sixteen; ac-

Number of the Clergy.

cording to others, was not more than three[86]. Enough, therefore, was done by such enactments of the provincial legislature, to provoke the instant opposition of all who were not in communion with the Church, and the reproaches of those writers, who, in any later age, are adverse to religious establishments[87]; but not enough to ensure the faithful and constant discharge of those important duties, in consideration of which alone such enactments are made. The infant Church of Maryland was thus beset by precisely the same difficulties which had operated so hurtfully in Virginia.

Defective character of such legislation.

The administration of Copley was soon ended by his death; and his successor, Sir Francis Nicholson, who arrived from England, in 1694, gave most valuable aid, in some respects, to the efforts of the Church in the extension of Christian truth, but, in others, retarded them. His untiring zeal, his generous munificence, his hearty desire to befriend and aid the Clergy, who accompanied him from England, and those whom he found already at work in the province, are evidences of the one. His hasty temper, his want of self-restraint, his despotic demeanour, his rigorous treatment of persons not in communion with the Church, especially the Quakers, —whose history in Maryland closely resembles, in this respect, that which was exhibited throughout every other part of the British empire, during the

Nicholson, governor.

His character.

[86] Bacon's Laws, 1692, c. 11; Griffiths's Annals of Baltimore, and Fulham MSS. quoted by Hawks, ut sup. 72, 73.

[87] M'Mahon holds a conspicuous rank among these; and his remarks upon the above Act, i. 243, 244, are distinguished by the same want of candour which has been noticed in the case of Mr. Yeo's Letter.

same period,—supply not less distinct testimony of the other.

Churches erected.

At an early period of Nicholson's government, Churches were erected in different counties of Maryland, and eight Clergymen appointed to them. In Annapolis, which, receiving its name from Princess, afterwards Queen, Anne, was now made the capital of the province, he began the erection of a brick Church, the only building of that description hitherto constructed in the country of such durable materials. Upon his recommendation, the Assembly petitioned William and Mary to provide for the establishment of a free school in every county; a measure, which Nicholson was especially anxious to promote, as a means of supplying pupils to the College lately founded in Virginia[88].

Dr. Bray Commissary.

The benefits of Blair's appointment, in that province, to the important post of Commissary, led the Clergy and Legislature of Maryland, in 1695, to solicit, from the Bishop of London, the like assistance for themselves; and he, in compliance with their request, nominated one who had already acquired a high reputation in England as a Preacher, Author, and Parish-priest, and whose name will ever be conspicuous in the annals of her Domestic and Colonial Church, Dr. Thomas Bray. Born at Marton, in Shropshire, in 1656, and educated, first at Oswestry, in the same county, and afterwards at Hart Hall, Oxford, he had pursued his ministerial labours chiefly in the Parish of Sheldon, in the county of Warwick. The

His previous services at home.

[88] Fulham MSS. and other authorities, quoted by Hawks, ut sup. 78—82.

favourable notice of its patron, Lord Digby, had been attracted, in the first instance, by an Assize Sermon, which Bray preached at Warwick. In that field of labour, he learnt practically the duties and the wants of a Parochial minister; and there, too, he composed the first volume of his Catechetical Lectures, the rapid sale of which proved the success with which he engaged the public mind in the study of its important subject. Upon agreeing to undertake the important office now proposed to him, his first object was to obtain, under the authority of her Bishops, such assistance from the Church at home, as might provide sufficient Libraries for the Clergy who were to serve abroad. Thinking it probable that such men would, for the most part, be least able to furnish themselves with books, and that, without books, many most important ends of their mission would be frustrated, he urged it as an imperative duty upon their brethren to make that provision for them. The justice of his appeal was at once confessed, as appears from a paper still in Lambeth Library, bearing the signatures of Tenison, then Archbishop of Canterbury; of Sharp, Archbishop of York; of Compton, Bishop of London; of Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield; of Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester; of Patrick, Bishop of Ely; and of Moore, Bishop of Norwich. It declares the readiness of all these Prelates to 'contribute cheerfully towards these Parochial Libraries;' and expresses the hope that 'many pious persons, out of love to religion and learning,' would also do the same. The hope was realised. Before his laborious and useful life reached its close, Bray had the satisfaction of seeing not less than thirty-nine Parochial Libraries established in North

His institution of Parochial Libraries extensively established abroad.

America. The chief of them was at Annapolis,—the Princess, after whom that city was named, having given most valuable contributions towards it,—and others, containing, in some instances, more than a thousand Volumes each, were spread over the whole country, from Massachusetts in the north, to the farthest borders of South Carolina. The ravages, indeed, of time and war have since made sad havoc among the precious stores which piety and wisdom so carefully treasured up; but, even to this day, some Volume, once belonging to these Libraries, may be found, the sight of which, Dr. Hawks justly acknowledges, should 'serve, for the time, in place of a more enduring monument to the memory of one of the best benefactors that the Episcopal Church in America ever had [89].'

But the towns and villages of the Western Continent were not the only places to which Bray extended these benefits. The Bermudas, Newfoundland, and the Factories of the Royal African Company, bore like witness to his provident and fostering care, and gratefully acknowledged the gifts which they received at his hands. His brethren also in England received not less signal proof of his zeal and sympathy in their behalf. Whilst men taunted him with the cry, so often echoed in our own day, that 'charity should begin at home,' and that there was enough of poverty among the Clergy and Parishes at home to occupy it, Bray gave the best proof that he was not only mindful of the wants of home, but more strenuous in his efforts to relieve them than even they had shown themselves to be, who insisted

And at home.

[89] Hawks, ut sup. 85.

the most strongly upon its claims. At the very time that he was engaged in providing for the efficient ministrations of the Clergy in Maryland, he projected a scheme for establishing Parochial and Lending Libraries, in every Deanery throughout England and Wales; and also Libraries for the benefit of students about to take Holy Orders, and for Schools poorly endowed. He never lost sight of this project. He commenced it, before he set sail from England; and was always busy in promoting it, in the midst of those unwearied labours which he sustained, abroad and at home, in behalf of the Colonial Church. He published, in 1703, an Essay, which described, most powerfully, the necessity and importance of this work; and, in 1709, he had the satisfaction of seeing, in consequence of his renewed appeals, an Act passed by Parliament 'for the better preservation of Parochial Libraries in England.' He strove to make the scheme a source of blessing to every quarter of the kingdom. In the Isle of Man alone, he founded, in concert with the excellent Bishop Wilson, sixteen Lending Libraries; and sixty-seven others were established by him, in various Dioceses of England and Wales.

The like spirit in any age, an index of true Christian zeal.

And thus it ever must be. The heart which is really kindled with the fire of Christian love, can no more bound its influences within any narrow confines than can the sun its brightness or its heat. The objects nearest to it, of course, feel those influences in their first, and strongest, force; and so the claims of family, of neighbourhood, of friends, of country, receive, as they ought, in order, the tribute which belongs to them before all others. But whoso would limit the offices of brotherly kindness to these, and deem the

remoteness of any region in the wide universe a reason for shutting out all thought of its inhabitants, acts not only against the plain precepts of God's Word, but the testimony supplied by the most faithful of his servants. Let the search be made among them now, as in the generations of old, and the same result will be arrived at, namely, that they who are the most forward to promote the welfare of their brethren in distant Colonies, are, above all others, they whose efforts never slacken in behalf of all that concerns them most intimately at home.

The spirit which animated Bray was quickly shared by others. Before he set foot in Maryland, he had increased the number of Clergy to sixteen, and had induced others to go out to other provinces. He would have been their companion, in the first instance, but for the necessity laid upon him to complete some of the schemes which he had formed for their benefit, and to lay the foundation of others. Hence, more than three years elapsed before Bray embarked upon his mission; but, during the whole of that time, he lived at his own expense; receiving not any part of the small stipend of 400*l.* a year, which was to be paid to him as Commissary, and refusing preferment of larger amount, which more than once was offered to him. Even when the hour of his embarkation arrived, Dec. 12, 1699, he bore all the charges of his outfit and voyage, defraying part of them by the sale of the scanty personal property which remained at his disposal, and resorting to his credit for the future liquidation of the rest.

Bray embarks for Maryland, Dec. 12, 1699.

The interval, of which I now write, from 1696 to 1700, was marked by events of

Mainly instrumental

in establishing THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, before he left England.

deepest interest to the Church of England; and no man bore a more conspicuous part in them than Dr. Bray. He then drew up the plan of a Society, to be incorporated by Charter, for the spread of Christian Knowledge, by establishing Libraries for the benefit of the poorer Clergy, and Schools for the education of children at home; and by completing the design, already begun, for fixing similar Libraries throughout the Plantations; by appointing sufficient Missionaries for all Plantations not yet provided with them; by allotting gratuities, or pensions, to those whose 'merit' was proved to be 'more than ordinary, by their learning, labour, and success in their ministry and mission;' by providing especially for 'such ministers as shall most hazard their persons in attempting the conversion of the Negroes or native Indians;' and by supporting the destitute widows and children of Missionaries, more particularly 'of such as by their zeal and industry in converting souls may have occasioned the loss of life or goods.' The original manuscript sketch, prepared by Bray, is still in the Library of Sion College; and upon the basis thus laid down, was speedily erected the Society which has ever since borne the honoured name of "THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE." Bray was one of the five members who met together, for the first time, March 8, 1698-9, to commence that holy work; and they were speedily joined by others, Bishops, Clergy, and Lay-members of our Church at home, who forthwith opened a correspondence with Professor Francke, of Halle in Saxony; Ostervald, of Neufchatel; Jablonski, of Berlin, and others, whose

names still live in the literature and theology of Europe.

Bray applied himself all the more earnestly to this work, by reason of his failure, in the preceding year, to obtain from Parliament any assistance towards the same end. Upon the introduction of a Bill, for alienating certain lands which had been set apart for superstitious uses, and vesting them in Greenwich Hospital, Bray had petitioned the House that a part of the above property might be allotted to the purpose of extending the Gospel in the Plantations; but although his Petition was favourably received, nothing more was done in its behalf. He had next petitioned the King to appropriate to that object certain arrears of taxes due to the Crown; and, in order to obtain a completion of the grant, had followed William to Holland; but the taxes proved little worth. The only way, then, by which it seemed possible to attain the desired object, was by the voluntary association of faithful and zealous men. He rejoiced to see it begun, before he left England; and finding, upon his return, in 1700, on the business of the Maryland Church, that the work of the Society had greatly increased, and that an opportunity was supplied for entering into the second department of labour which he had marked out in his original sketch; he lost no time in soliciting, and obtaining, from the King a Charter for the incorporation of a separate Society, whose duty should be to propagate the Gospel of Christ throughout the Colonies and foreign dependencies of the British Empire. The influence of Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton was exerted,

And also in establishing THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, after his return.

heartily and promptly, in support of this application, and its success must, in great part, be ascribed to their aid; but Bray is distinctly and gratefully recognised, in documents yet extant, as their most valuable coadjutor. The Charter, thus granted to THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, is dated June 16, 1701.

Religious divisions in Maryland.

Resuming now the notice of Bray's labours in Maryland, we find the circumstances of his first voyage thither connected with one of those painful struggles, which marked the early history of the province, and the causes and progress of which have already been explained. Among the Acts of its Legislature, from 1692 to 1696, for the establishment of the Church, was one, in the latter year, which repealed all former Acts relating to the same subject, and declared 'that the Church of England within this province, shall enjoy, all and singular, her rights, privileges, and freedoms, as it is now, or shall be at any time hereafter, established by law in the kingdom of England; and that His Majesty's subjects of this province shall enjoy all their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of the kingdom of England, in all matters and causes where the laws of this province are silent.' The Roman Catholics and Quakers in the Colony, who had long made common cause against the Church of England, saw that the terms of this Act were open to attack; and, since it was necessary that the Act should be first laid before the Commissioners of Trade, and then receive the sanction of the Crown, before it could become law, it was contrived that the petition to that effect should not reach the King; and an Order of Council was passed, in the autumn of 1699, annulling

the Act, and saying that it contained 'a clause declaring all the laws of England to be in force in Maryland; which clause is of another nature than that which is set forth by the title in the said law.' This defeat of the Maryland Legislature is ascribed to the dexterous management of the Quakers, whose agents were upon the alert, and to the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London from the meeting of the Privy Council which issued the above Order. To make the humiliation more complete, a Quaker was entrusted to take out the Order to America.

It so happened that Bray was a passenger on board the same ship; and a tedious voyage of nearly three months gave him ample time to consider the course which it was best for him to pursue, and which the present crisis of affairs was certainly not calculated to make less difficult. Upon his arrival, he found Nicholson, the Governor, most willing to help him. The time of meeting of the Assembly was some weeks distant; and Bray employed the interval in obtaining authentic information, touching the condition of the Church in the province. He found, that, whilst a twelfth of the whole population were Roman Catholics, and a somewhat larger proportion Quakers, a very large majority of the rest belonged to the Church of England. At the same time, he was diligent and faithful in all the other duties of his office; and his preaching was especially welcome to the people. Indeed, the early influence which he acquired,—a remarkable proof of which is to be found in a vote of thanks, proposed by the Assembly to him at their meeting,—seems to have betrayed its members and himself into a serious error. In the

Bray's ministrations there.

Act, then passed for the establishment of the Church in Maryland,—re-instituting most of the former provisions upon the same subject, prohibiting any minister from holding more than two Parishes, (and those only under special circumstances,) and permitting, with certain restrictions, the employment of lay-readers,—the following clause occurs:

'That the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, with the rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, the Psalter and Psalms of David, and Morning and Evening Prayer therein contained, be solemnly read, and by all and every minister, or reader, in every Church, *or other place of public worship*, within this province.'

Objectionable clause introduced into the Act for establishing the Church.

Now, to insist upon the observance of the Book of Common Prayer, with all other 'rites and ceremonies, according to the use of the Church of England,' in every place of public worship within the province, whether belonging to her communion or not, was manifestly a most unjustifiable proceeding. It contravened not only the Statutes of Maryland, which, during the proprietorship of Baltimore, had granted liberty of conscience and worship unto all, and the Toleration Act, passed in 1689 at home, by which all persons dissenting from the Church of England (except Roman Catholics and persons denying the Holy Trinity) were relieved, upon certain conditions, from the laws by which they had been hitherto restrained; but it violated, what was even yet more sacred than any enactments of human legislation, those unalterable principles of justice to which the conscience instinctively pays homage, and the authority of which is proclaimed in the Word of God. It can excite no surprise, therefore, to learn that both the Roman

Catholics and the Quakers in the Colony should have done their utmost to prevent such an Act from receiving the sanction of the Crown. Bray himself was requested to return home, with a view of promoting the object so much desired by the Assembly; and, finding upon his arrival, that the enemies of the measure had, in their zeal, put forth certain false statements concerning the intended provision for the Church, he drew up and published a Memorial, refuting distinctly their charges, and describing the real condition of religion in America at that time. Meanwhile, the objectionable clause, before mentioned, was urged as a reason for rejecting the Act; and, the Attorney-General having given, as he could not but give, an opinion condemnatory of the clause, there was reason to fear that the whole measure, proposed by the provincial Legislature, would be again defeated. This, probably, would have been the result, but for the interposition of Bray, who,—seeing the sympathy which his Memorial had excited in the public mind, and conscious of the grave error committed by the introduction of the clause in question,—prevailed upon the Commissioners of Trade to consent to the drawing up another Bill without the objectionable clause, which, being approved of by them, should be sent to Maryland, and, being passed without alteration by her Assembly, should then be returned to England for confirmation. This arrangement was at length effected; and the final consent of the Crown to the Bill so passed, was given in the following terms: 'Have the Quakers the benefit of a toleration? Let the Established Church have an established maintenance.'

Bray's conduct respecting it.

In noticing the history of this transaction, it is im-

possible not to regret that Bray should ever have agreed to the insertion of a clause so justly obnoxious to reproach. From the tone of his Memorial, and the general character of his proceedings, I cannot but think that his better judgment was, for the time, overruled by the eager spirit of the Assembly, and the resolute will of Nicholson. At all events, the readiness with which Bray assumed, when he was alone in England, the responsibility of expunging the clause, and of framing another Act, without reference to the wishes of men whose minds were exasperated by local feuds, proves that he had both candour to avow, and boldness to correct, the wrong which had been committed.

Bray's Visitation at Annapolis.

Before Bray's departure from Maryland, he held, at Annapolis, a general Visitation of the Clergy, who were seventeen in number. Their names, and those of their Parishes, together with all other records of proceedings which then took place, have lately been re-printed in the Appendix to Dr. Hawks's Narrative. A Charge was then delivered by the Commissary, full of wisdom and practical exhortation; pointing out, first, the chief rules to be observed in the duties of catechising, preaching, and private ministerial instruction; and enjoining, secondly, the necessity of forming and maintaining discipline among themselves; a necessity, made more imperative by the temptations of a long sea-voyage, to which all persons going to the Colony were exposed, and by the facility with which Clergymen of immoral lives, at that time, found protection within its borders. Upon this part of his subject, the Commissary was not content with delivering a general sentence of admonition, but appealed, in terms of most solemn remonstrance, to one of the Clergy then

present,—against whom a charge of immorality had been brought, and, to a certain extent, established,—and summoned him to make such defence as he was able, at a time and place then agreed upon.

His proposal to send a minister to Pennsylvania.

At this Visitation also, he proposed, and the Clergy agreed, to send a minister into Pennsylvania, and support him at their own charges, until a settled provision could be made for him in that province. The extravagances, which distinguished most of the Quakers of that day,—developed the more rapidly, and maintained the more obstinately, by reason of their many and cruel persecutions,—had produced so painful an impression upon the minds of many pious Churchmen, that they regarded them, and spoke of them, as apostates and unbelievers. And, since Pennsylvania had been recently colonised by one of the most distinguished of that body, and his followers were already acquiring great influence in that quarter, it was natural that Bray, and others like him, who sincerely believed their tenets to be most pernicious, should turn their attention thither. The Clergy of Maryland, therefore, not only commenced, at that time, a subscription among themselves to support a missionary in Pennsylvania, but requested Bray to make known the design to Blair, the Commissary in Virginia, and gain his assistance and that of the Clergy under his jurisdiction. A more fitting opportunity will be found hereafter, to examine the merits of those charges, which the enemies of Quakerism urged against it, and of the defence which its advocates maintained; and the merits of those censures which each employed against the other will then be considered. All that I am here anxious to impress upon the attention of the reader is,

that, if the prosecution of missionary labours be regarded, as it is most justly, the sign of a vigorous and healthful spirit animating the Church which is so engaged, this praise must with gratitude be assigned to the infant Church of Maryland.

His continued efforts in behalf of Maryland, after his return to England.

Upon Bray's return to England, he gave renewed proof of his readiness to account no personal sacrifice too great towards the accomplishment of his designs. He bore alone the expenses incurred by his visit; and when, after having thus exhausted his private means, he received gifts amounting to £400, from friends at home and in the Colony, who were anxious to repair his losses, he applied nearly the whole sum to the cause of the Church in Maryland. He employed himself also most diligently in enlisting the sympathies of his countrymen at home, in behalf of the same cause; reiterating the facts already published in his Memorial; and showing that there were required, for the service of our North American Colonies, at least forty Clergymen, in the fulness of their strength and manhood, who should be animated with 'a true missionary spirit, have an ardent zeal for God's glory, and the salvation of men's souls,' and be able, from their proficiency in all the collateral studies of their sacred calling, "to convince the gainsayers." He proposed, too, that, under the authority of the Bishops, some one or more of the Clergy thus qualified, and chosen in each Diocese by the Bishop for the work, should be invited to go out; and, that, from the Laity and Clergy of each Parish, offerings should be received, and passed through the hands of the Archdeacon and Bishop, for their support. This proposal, in its literal

form, was never acted upon; but the attention drawn to the subject led to the immediate formation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Whilst thus labouring at home in support of Maryland, Bray was not less active in writing to the Clergy in that province, and urging them to bear in mind the several subjects which had been set before them at the recent Visitation. Had these letters been promptly followed by the personal resumption of his duties among them, a great and lasting benefit would have been secured. But it was judged, most erroneously, as I think, that his services would be more useful by remaining at home than by returning to Maryland. He deputed, indeed, to three of her Clergy the discharge of some of the duties of his office; but this authority was either insufficient of itself, or the parties, entrusted with it, were unwilling to put it in force. Nothing was done by them; and, in consequence of the disorders which ensued, another Commissary, Mr. Hewetson, Archdeacon of Armagh, and the early friend of Bishop Wilson, was, upon the recommendation of Bray, appointed by the Bishop of London.

Hewetson, Commissary.

The sequel of Dr. Bray's life, and the events which happened in Maryland after the appointment of his successor, will be noticed in a later chapter. I will here only refer, by anticipation, to two points, because they are connected with subjects recently brought under our notice. The first refers to the efforts made, through the instrumentality of Bray, for the conversion and education of the Negroes. We have seen the wretched treatment to which they were exposed in

Bray's subsequent efforts for the conversion and education of the Negroes.

the West Indies, and the strenuous, though ineffectual, effort made for their relief by Morgan Godwyn[90]; and it is a matter of thankfulness to find, that the spirit of that faithful minister was shared by Dr. Bray, and that he succeeded in forming a plan, in his own lifetime, for the instruction of the Negro race in North America, which, to this day, continues associated with his name. It arose from an acquaintance which he had made with Mr. D'Allone in Holland, when he visited that country for the object before mentioned. That gentleman, having frequently conversed with Dr. Bray upon the degraded state of the slave population in our Colonies, bequeathed to him, soon afterwards, the sum of £900, with the view of forming a fund to be applied to their instruction. Dr. Bray, having undertaken the trust, and having been attacked, in 1723, with an illness which threatened to terminate his life, nominated certain persons to carry on the work. Their authority was confirmed by a decree in Chancery, in 1731, the year after his death, and the title of 'DR. BRAY'S ASSOCIATES,' which they received in 1733, has ever since been retained by them. At first, the interest of the fund committed to their hands, was applied to the support of a Catechist for the Negroes in Georgia. It has since been devoted, with other benefactions for the same object, to the maintenance of Schools for the education of Negro children in Nova Scotia, Philadelphia, and the Bahamas[91].

D'Allone's benefaction towards the same object.

'BRAY'S ASSOCIATES.'

[90] See pp. 297—303, *ante*.

[91] See Reports of the Institution, established by the late Rev. Dr. Bray, and his Associates, for founding Clerical Libraries, and supporting Negro Schools. Few institutions are more deserving of encouragement and support.

His efforts to obtain a Bishop for Maryland.

The other point to which I wish briefly to call attention, is the effort made by Bray to obtain the appointment of a Bishop of the Church in Maryland, before he resigned the office of Commissary. He had, doubtless, been cognisant of the attempt made to obtain the like appointment for Virginia; and, in order that the same objection, which had been urged successfully upon that occasion[92], might not again operate, he projected a plan of raising, by private contributions, a sum for the purchase of a Plantation in the Colony, upon which the Bishop might reside, and by which he might be supported. Several contributions were received in aid of this scheme; and, if, in the sincere conviction that such an appointment was essential to the well-being of her Church, a faithful and fit man had been chosen and consecrated to the office, there can be no doubt that the whole amount required would soon have been received. But opposing influences, on both sides of the Atlantic, were directed against the plan; and it fell to the ground. The character of this opposition was, in substance, the same with that which was exercised, with the like fatal success, at subsequent periods of the 18th century; and its origin, progress, and results, will be found to supply materials for not the least interesting and instructive portions of the ecclesiastical history of that period. I defer the consideration of it, therefore, at present, with the remark that the failure of the plan left the Church in Maryland in precisely the same disadvantageous position which she occupied in Virginia; recognised, that is, and established by the laws of a provincial Legislature

[92] See p. 358, *ante.*

but deprived of her proper guidance and the real sources of her strength [93].

[93] See Vol. i. 471, and p. 352, *ante*. The above notice of Bray is gathered from the Biog. Brit.; Chalmers's Biog. Dict.; Todd's Edition of 'Public Spirit illustrated in the Life and Designs of Bray;' Murray's Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and Bray's MSS. in Sion College, which are the source of all the rest. The second of them, in fact, forms the substance of the history of his Life and Designs, and is copied without any acknowledgment.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE OTHER NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES, WEST INDIES, AND INDIA; AND HER CONDITION AT HOME, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF JAMES II. TO THE LATTER END OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III.

A.D. 1685—1702.

Of the remaining Colonies in North America at this period, I will only give here such an account as may suffice to show the difficulties which the Church had to encounter, then and afterwards, in each. A minuter relation will fall in more conveniently with the subsequent history.

Delaware. I notice Delaware first, because it is the province nearest to Maryland on the east, which has now a separate existence. This territory was originally colonized by emigrants from Sweden and Finland, and afterwards wrested from them by the Dutch. In 1664, the Dutch submitted to Sir Robert Carr; and Delaware, with its capital, Newcastle, was annexed to the government of New York. In 1672, Charles II. included it in a Patent to his brother the Duke of York; who, after much solicitation from Wil-

liam Penn, conveyed it by deed to him, in 1682, and it continued, for a long time afterwards, an integral part of Pennsylvania[1].

PENNSYLVANIA.

The name of this Colony brings to our mind that of its celebrated founder. He was the only son of Admiral Penn, who had brought Jamaica in subjection to the Commonwealth; and, having been trained up in childhood among the Independents, had avowed, whilst he was a student at Oxford, his sympathy for the preaching of the Quakers[2]. Many counteracting influences were brought to bear upon him, for the purpose of weakening or removing this impression,—his father's displeasure,—the novelties of foreign travel,—an intimate acquaintance with Amyrault, the celebrated Huguenot pastor,—the study of the law at home,—the attractions of society, of which he was one of the brightest ornaments. But none of these things turned aside the current of his thoughts. In 1666, when he was in the flower of his youth, he appeared publicly as a preacher of the doctrines which he had long cherished; and encountered cheerfully all the severities and indignities which, we have seen, were heaped, with such shameful rigour, upon Nonconformists in that day. In his case, the struggle was rendered more painful by the knowledge that his

The life and character of Penn, its founder.

[1] Morse's Geography, *in loc.*; Chalmers, 634. 643. The sale of Delaware to Penn by the Duke of York is proved by Chalmers to have been a transaction reflecting great dishonour on both parties.

[2] It is hardly necessary to remark, that, whenever I apply this designation to the Society of Friends, it is without any reference to the reproachful meaning originally attached to the term, and only in compliance with common usage, which Sewel, their own historian, has followed.

father's anger was kindled into a fresh flame, and that he was without a home and pennyless. His mother, indeed, still followed him in heart and affection, and did what she could to minister to his necessities. But the young man gloried in suffering persecution. He sought out, even in the palace of the King, the courtiers whom he had once known, and told them plainly of the wrong which they had done, and were doing. The prison opened wide its doors to receive this bold and stubborn teacher. He entered within them readily; and declared that the prison should be his grave sooner than that he would recant. Months passed away; his resolution was unbroken; and, at the intercession of the Duke of York, he was released; but, only to defy again the coercive power of yet more rigorous enactments, and again to be immured. His trial followed, the records of which, still extant, stamp indelible disgrace upon the Judge, and exhibit the accused, not only, by the verdict of the jury, declared 'Not guilty,' but, by his calm and intelligent defence, proving that his accusers were the really guilty. Yet, even then, his liberty was not gained. Upon a charge of contempt of court, he was sent back to prison, until the fines, which he refused to pay, were paid. His father, by their payment, freed him; and, in the closing hours of his life, took back to his arms the son from whom he had been, for a time, estranged; and left him his blessing and earthly fortunes.

The memorable trial of Penn occurred in the year 1670. His marriage soon followed. Then arose his interest in the growing settlements of North America; and, in 1674, soon after the return of George Fox from his travels in those regions, Penn joined with several of his brethren in purchasing the Western moiety of

New Jersey of Lord Berkeley, and, not long afterwards, the Eastern moiety of the same province, of the heirs of Carteret, who had been joint proprietors with Berkeley. In 1680, he applied to Charles for a grant of land, extending five degrees west of the River Delaware, and three degrees north of Maryland. The ground of his application was the existence of a debt, amounting to £16,000, due to him, upon his father's account, from the Crown; and, through the intervention of the Duke of York and other influential friends at Court, he succeeded in obtaining this vast territory. The Charter, erecting it into a province, to be called Pennsylvania, was most carefully considered by the first legal authorities of the day; chiefly with a view of preventing those evils which had arisen out of the neglect or misinterpretation of the provisions of the New England Charter; and was signed, March 4, 1681. It conferred upon Penn rights and privileges closely resembling those of former Charters described in this Volume; and, for that reason, it is unnecessary to repeat them. I would only remark one stipulation, which was inserted in it by desire of the Bishop of London, that, whensoever twenty inhabitants requested a minister of the Church of England to reside among them, he should be allowed to do so without molestation.

Terms of its Charter.

Penn had already received tidings from America, which assured him that many of her native Indians were men, generous, grateful, and intelligent. His brethren, who had recently purchased the Colony of New Jersey, and laid, in 1677, the foundations of Burlington, its capital, had furnished him with the best proof of this cheering fact, in a conference which they had held, in that place, with some Indian Sachems.

The cause of the conference was a rumour of intended hostilities by the Indians, on account of the small-pox having been designedly conveyed, as it was said, in some matchcoats which the English had sold to them. After the English had shown the futility of this charge, one of the Sachems thus spoke, in behalf of the rest:

Speech of an Indian Sachem to Penn's Agents.

'Our young men may speak such words as we do not like, and we cannot help that; and some of your young men may speak such words as you do not like, and you cannot help that. We have no mind to war; we are minded to live at peace. If we intend at any time to make war upon you, we will let you know of it, and the reasons why we make war with you; and if you make us satisfaction for the injury done us, for which the war was intended, then we will not make war on you; and if you intend at any time to make war on us, we would have you let us know of it, and the reason; and then if we do not make satisfaction for the injury done unto you, then you may make war on us, otherwise you ought not to do it. You are our brothers, and we are willing to live like brothers with you; we are willing to have a broad path for you and us to walk in, and if an Indian is asleep in this path, the Englishman shall pass by, and do him no harm; and if an Englishman is asleep in this path, the Indian shall pass by him, and say, he is an Englishman, he is asleep; let him alone; he loves to sleep. It shall be a plain path; there must not be in this path a stump to hurt our feet. And as to the small-pox, it was once in my grandfather's time, and it could not be the English that could send it to us then, there being no English in the country; and it was once in my father's time, they could not send it us then neither; and now it is in my time, I do not believe that they have sent it us now; I do believe it is the man above that hath sent it us.'

Upon another occasion, a conference was held between the English and the Indian Sachems, on the subject of putting an end to the sale of ardent spirits; and one of them said,

'The strong liquor was first sold to us by the Dutch; and they

were blind, they had no eyes, they did not see it was for our hurt. The next people that came among us were the Swedes, who continued the sale of those strong liquors to us; they were also blind, they had no eyes, they did not see it to be hurtful to us to drink it, although we know it to be hurtful to us. But if people will sell it to us, we are so in love with it, that we cannot forbear it: when we drink it, it makes us mad: we do not know what we do, we then abuse one another, we throw each other into the fire. Seven score of our people have been killed by reason of drinking it, since the time it was first sold us: those people that sell it are blind, they have no eyes. But now there is a people come to live amongst us that have eyes, they see it to be for our hurt, and we know it to be for our hurt, they are willing to deny themselves the profit of it for our good, we are glad such a people are come amongst us. We must put it down by mutual consent; the cask must be sealed up, it must be made fast, it must not leak by day nor by night, in the light nor in the dark; and we give you these four belts of wampum, which we would have you lay up safe, and keep by you, to be witnesses of this agreement that we make with you; and we would have you tell your children that these four belts of wampum are given you to be witnesses betwixt us and you of this agreement[3].'

To establish a settlement in lands of which the native inhabitants could cherish and express sentiments such as these, was a hopeful enterprise. In a few weeks after the Charter had been signed, Penn despatched his kinsman, Markham, to prepare the way for his taking possession of the country. Markham was the bearer of a letter from Penn to his future dependents, which deserves to be recorded once more. It was to this effect:

Penn's letter, 1681.

'My Friends: I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. These are to lett you know, that it hath pleased God in his Providence to cast you within my Lott and Care. It is a business, that though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an under-

[3] Smith's History of New Jersey, 99—102. The wampum belt consisted of black and white beads made of a fish-shell.

standing of my duty and an honest minde to doe uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your chainge and the King's choice; for you are now fixt, at the mercy of no Governour that comes to make his fortune great. You shall be governed by laws of your own makeing, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industrious People. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his Person. God has furnisht me with a better resolution, and has given me grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with. I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you.

'I am your true Friend,

'WM. PENN.'

London, 8th of the month called, April, 1681.

Penn addressed a similar letter, a few months afterwards, to the natives, declaring, that they were all responsible to the One God, whose law was written in their hearts, and that, by virtue of it, they were bound to love and do good to one another. In the year following, he sailed from England, to assume the government of his province. He landed, in October, at Newcastle; and, on the day following, in the presence of the Swedes and Dutch and English, who were assembled at the Court House, received tokens of the surrender of the whole defined territory into his hands. The next few weeks were occupied in visiting East and West New Jersey, and New York; and, before the year closed, returning to the banks of the Delaware, he met, 'beneath a large elm-tree at Shakamaxon, on the northern edge of Philadelphia,' the delegates of the Lenni Lennape tribes.

He lands in the province,

And meets the Indians.

'We meet,' said he, 'on the broad pathway of good faith and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall

be openness and love. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain, for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood.'

The Indians replied to him in the same spirit; and offering to him their belt of wampum, as a token of friendship, and receiving his presents in return, said,

'We will live with William Penn and his children, as long as the moon and the sun shall endure.'

Further settlement of the province.

The commencement of the next year saw him making further provision for the welfare of his Colony, by marking out, upon a neck of land between the Schuylkill and the Delaware, the foundations of its future capital, Philadelphia. Before its first cottages were built, representatives from the six counties of the province assembled upon the spot, to organise the government, which Penn had already framed in England. It was essentially,—and, but for the fact that the office of Proprietor remained hereditary,—would have been entirely, democratic. The equity and wisdom and gentleness with which Penn administered the affairs of his infant Colony, were requited by its speedy advancement; and, having witnessed the first evidences of its prosperity, he left his farewell blessing with his people, and returned, for a time, to England. James II. had then just ascended the throne; and, in all the strifes of his short, but troublous, reign, Penn was still, as he ever had been, the enemy of persecution, the friend of justice and humanity. The intimacy between James and his father, joined to the influence of his own cha-

racter, gave him much interest at Court, and he exerted it heartily for the relief of his suffering brethren. Many hundred Quakers, in Scotland and in England, were released from prison, by his intercession. His gates were crowded with other suppliants who looked for like help; and he did not reject any. Even Locke was enabled to say, in his voluntary exile, that, had he chosen to return home, the means of doing so had been secured by the successful influence of Penn. And although he was an advocate for the dispensing power which James sought to establish; believing it to be only for the purpose of securing universal liberty in religion, and not seeing the sinister ends promoted by it; yet he strongly disapproved of the act by which the seven Bishops, who refused to read the Declaration of Indulgence, were committed to the Tower, and pressed the King for their release [4]. His favour with the King, and his avowed sympathy with those measures, 'of which the success,' the historian truly states, 'would have undone his country [5],' brought upon him a large share of the hatred which the exasperated nation felt against all the abettors of them. The name of Papist, Jesuit in disguise, infidel, traitor, were

[4] Bancroft (ii. 397) has tried to convict Mackintosh of error, for having said, (p. 171,) that Penn 'lent himself to the measures of the King;' and, with that view, has cited a passage from Lawton's Memoir of Penn, which shows Penn an advocate for the release of the Bishops from imprisonment. But, if the accomplished historian of the United States will refer to Mackintosh again, he will find that writer guiltless of the error ascribed to him. The share which Penn had in the measures of the King, and of which alone Mackintosh speaks in the passage above cited, was his advocacy of the King's dispensing power; a fact, of which there can be no doubt.

[5] Mackintosh's History of the Revolution, 171.

forthwith affixed to him; and Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury, was so far led to believe the justice of the clamour against Penn, that Penn wrote a letter to him, vindicating himself from the charge. The vindication was acknowledged by Tillotson to be complete; and his prompt and candid testimony to that effect, is one of the few instances which we meet with of a cheering character, in that day of bitter controversy [6].

The Revolution brought fresh trials to Penn. Within two years from that event, he was imprisoned thrice; the rights of his Proprietorship in the Colony which he had founded were set aside by a Royal Commission; and it was not until 1694, that he succeeded in obtaining a Patent for its restoration. Poverty, also, came upon him "like an armed man;" and detention for his debts hindered him, for a time, from resuming in Pennsylvania the personal exercise of his duties which there awaited him. At length, at the close of the 17th century, he reached the Colony once more; and employed his time in strengthening the frame of government before established, and in removing the jealousies which had sprung up in the provinces adjoining his territory and at home. The apprehension, however, which he felt, that a Regal government might supersede his own, forced him to return to England, in 1701; and he left it no more. In 1712, sickness overtook him, whilst he was still engaged in schemes for the welfare of his Colony. He was compelled, from that time, to relinquish the active superintendence of its affairs; and, after the lapse of six more years, his memorable career in this world had ended [7].

[6] Birch's Life of Tillotson, 133, 134.

[7] See Penn's Life in the Biog. Brit.; his own Works, 2 vols.

Penn left at his death several causes of disturbance from without and within the Colony he had founded, which soon gathered strength. Of the former, the dispute with Baltimore as to the boundaries of their respective provinces, was the most conspicuous; and all the address, which Penn displayed in his intercourse with that nobleman, did not succeed in obtaining a satisfactory adjustment. Another, touching the specific rights of Delaware, was only terminated by conceding to the latter province the rights and privileges of self-government. Of the internal causes of division, the chief one is to be found in the fact, that, whilst the government of his province was democratic, Penn retained, in his own person, all the power of a feudal sovereign; and the provincial Council and Assembly, as soon as they were relieved from the restraint of his presence, were easily drawn into quarrels touching their respective rights. With respect to slaves, Penn showed, upon his second visit to the province, an earnest desire to ameliorate their condition, but could not succeed in accomplishing all his wishes.

Disputes and divisions in Pennsylvania.

Penn a slave-holder.

fol., passim; Proud's History of Pennsylvania, passim; Sewel's History of the Quakers, ii. 156—431; Chalmers, 630—667; and Bancroft, ii. 336—402. The statements of these two last writers may fairly be left to balance each other; the former scarcely ever recognising any act of Penn as worthy of praise; and the latter extolling not only all his acts, but all the principles of Quakerism, in such extravagant terms of panegyric, that the only wonder is to find that the eloquent and ardent eulogist is not himself a Quaker.

The charges brought against Penn in Macaulay's History of England, ought not to be admitted by any reader, until he has read the Reply to them by Hepworth Dixon, in the last edition of his Life of Penn. And when he has read that Reply, he will see, I think, strong reason to doubt the truth of the charges.

The lawfulness of slavery, he admitted; and felt no hesitation in exacting the forced service of the poor Negro. Penn lived and died a slave-holder; and the law, passed under his authority, respecting slaves, held them, after fourteen years of servitude, still fast bound as adscripts to the soil[8]. How far such conduct was consistent with the letter of those principles, which he and his brethren professed themselves so zealous to maintain, is a question which it would be difficult to answer in the affirmative. And, if inconsistency between profession and practice be a noxious seed, which must ever bring forth fruit after its own kind, it is obvious that herein existed a fresh element of future evil. Another source of trouble in the Colony is found in the divisions among some of the Quakers there, of whom George Keith was the chief leader. He had long been a distinguished advocate of their doctrines, and was held high in repute among their body. To find him, therefore, now starting up in the midst of them as their accuser, denying their authority, and declaring that the attempt to exercise it, as they did, was the sin of apostasy, spread no small confusion and alarm through their ranks. The ministers of the Society publicly disowned Keith, at a meeting which they held in April, 1692; and, when he appealed from them to the yearly meeting of the Society in London, his rejection was there finally confirmed. He now became the avowed and open adversary of his former brethren; and, when he entered, soon afterwards, into communion with our own Church, and became one of her ordained ministers, their grief and indignation knew no bounds. The basest motives

George Keith.

[8] See the authorities quoted by Bancroft, ii. 401.

were imputed to him; the most opprobrious terms of reproach heaped upon him; and, to this day, the impression seems to remain in the mind of every writer who sympathises with the Society of Friends, that Keith, in departing from their body, was guilty of a sin never to be forgiven[9]. I believe that they have done Keith wrong, in this respect, and am prepared to show the grounds of my belief. The services which he rendered, as one of the earliest missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, will give me a convenient opportunity of doing this; and to that part of the history I defer the further consideration of this matter[10]. I will only observe, in this place, that, with all our admiration of the character and conduct of Penn, and with the sincerest respect for many members of the same Society who are still found walking in his steps, it is impossible for those faithful members of the Church, who believe that 'The Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation;' that the 'Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and quicken our faith in him;' and that 'it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering

[9] Proud, i. 363—376; Sewel, ii. 235—438. The position of these writers may account, in some degree, for their unfavourable representations of Keith; but Bancroft cannot plead their excuse, when he says of Keith, most unjustly, that, 'being left without a faction, and tired of his position, he made a true exposition of the strife, by accepting an Episcopal benefice,' iii. 37.

[10] See Vol. iii. *in loc.*

the Sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same[11];' it is impossible, I say, for such men not always to view with deepest pain and sorrow the manner in which these solemn verities are impugned, and the practical conclusions resulting from them set at nought, by the appeal which the Quaker makes to the Inner Light.

Bishop Compton's advice to Penn.

I have already said that Bishop Compton had obtained authority, under the Pennsylvanian Charter, to send a Clergyman to that province, whensoever twenty persons should invite him thither. This authority was neither arrogantly claimed by Compton, nor grudgingly conceded by Penn. It was a just demand, freely and readily acknowledged. Indeed, the communications, which passed between them, upon this and other subjects connected with the settlement, were marked by mutual kindness; and the wise and humane policy of Penn, in obtaining his land from the natives by purchase, is said to have been owing to the direct recommendation of the Bishop himself[12], whilst to Penn has been awarded all the credit. In 1695, the first place of worship, belonging to the Church of England, was built in Philadelphia, and

First English Church in Philadelphia.

[11] Articles VI. XXV. XXIII.

[12] Thus writes Chalmers, 644: 'Agreeably to the counsel of the good Bishop of London to buy the natives' land, Penn immediately entered into treaty with the Indians, from whom he purchased as much of the soil as the circumstances of the case required, for a price that seems to have given satisfaction, and with whom he settled a very kind correspondence. This policy, equally humane and wise, not only long ensured an advantageous peace to the province, but has conferred undiminished celebrity on his name, while the adviser of it has been hitherto either unknown or forgotten.'

the Rev. Mr. Clayton was appointed, in the same year, its minister[13]. In 1700, the Rev. Evan Evans was sent out by Bishop Compton, and not only gathered a large congregation in Philadelphia, but was most diligent and successful in his ministrations in many other parts of the province.

NEW YORK.

The province which adjoins Pennsylvania on the north and east, and which was originally settled by the Dutch, surrendered to the English under Colonel Nichols, in 1664. The name of its chief city, hitherto called New Amsterdam, was then changed to that of New York, and the name of Fort Orange to that of Albany; both titles having been given in honour of the Duke of York and Albany, to whom the King his brother had granted that extensive territory. The treaty of Breda, in 1667, confirmed the English in the possession of it, and also the possession of Surinam to the Dutch. In the war which again broke out between the two countries, in 1673, New York surrendered to a Dutch squadron, which had been fitted out against the English Colonies in America; but, by the articles of peace agreed to in the following year, it reverted once more to the Duke of York, who, in order to remove some doubts which had, in the mean time, arisen respecting the validity of his title, obtained a new Patent from the King, and appointed Major Andros Governor of the

Its previous history.

Granted by Charles II. to his brother.

[13] Dorr's History, quoted in Hawkins's Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church in England, &c. p. 107. Dorr's statement is borne out by Bray himself (Life, &c. p. 9), and therefore convicts Humphreys of inaccuracy, who says that there was no English minister in Philadelphia until 1700, when Mr. Evans came. Historical account of the Incorporated Society, &c. p. 146.

province[14]. Discontents speedily broke out among its people, the weight of which fell chiefly upon Andros; and, although some ascribe this odium to the tyrannous nature of the constitution under which he acted, rather than to his own will[15], his conduct elsewhere gives too much reason to believe, that, for a large share of the evils, he must be held responsible. Upon his departure, in 1682, and, under his successor, Dongan, some influence in the Legislative power of the Colony was at length granted to its inhabitants, by the constitution of an Assembly; and, two years afterwards, the same Governor succeeded, in conjunction with the Governor of Virginia, in making a treaty of peace with the Five Nations of Indians, who, under the name of Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senekas, had long been known as the implacable enemies of the Adirondacks, another most powerful native tribe, and also of the French, who, under Champlain, had made alliance with the latter. The ravages, which these Five Nations had been for some time spreading throughout North America, had made them an object of just alarm to all the English Plantations; and it was no slight temporal advantage, therefore, secured at this time to New York, and to the English settlements generally, that such formidable foes should be converted into firm allies.

A treaty of peace made with the Five Nations of Indians.

Upon the accession of her Proprietor to the throne of England, New York felicitated herself in the prospect of increased prosperity; but was doomed to be dis-

Arbitrary government of New York under James II.

[14] Holmes's Annals, i. 325—351; Chalmers, 567—580.

[15] Chalmers, 581, 582.

appointed. The privileges, for which she had already justly obtained a Patent, and which only required some further ratification to be completed, were not only not secured, but others, which she had before enjoyed, were withdrawn. The Governor and Council were alone empowered to continue former taxes, and to impose new ones; the use of the printing-press was forbidden; no power of appeal was left open to her people; she was treated, in fact, as a conquered province. But the measure of her indignities was not yet full. In order to form a barrier against the encroachments of the French in Canada, James united her to New England, of which Andros (now Sir Edmund) had already been for two years Governor, exercising again most arbitrary powers which the Crown had delegated to him. The existence, therefore, of New York as a separate province was at an end, and, with it, the Commission of her ruler, Dongan. A new Commission was issued, in 1688, annexing New York and the Jerseys to the jurisdiction of the four Colonies of New England, and appointing Andros Captain-general over the whole, who named Francis Nicholson his Lieutenant.

United to New England.

The consequences of this oppression were speedily made manifest. In Boston, the people rose up in arms and cast Andros into prison. In New York, the insurgents, at whose head was a man named Jacob Leisler, seized the fortress; and, although William and Mary were afterwards proclaimed amid the joyful acclamations of the people, Leisler still ruled at the head of a Committee of Safety. Enamoured of power, he coveted its longer possession; refused to surrender the fortress, when summoned to do so by the Governor, who came out

Consequent disturbances.

under the authority of the Crown in 1691; and, for that act, was tried and executed [16].

Observing, then, these incidents in the early history of New York, we cannot be surprised at reading in Humphreys, that 'no face of the Church of England' was seen there, until the year 1693. In that year, under the government of Colonel Fletcher, an Act was passed for maintaining ministers of our Church, who were to be chosen by the respective Vestries. In 1696, Trinity Church, then said to be 'the finest Church in North America,' was built; and Mr. Vesey, a layman and held in the highest estimation by all ranks of people, was chosen by the Governor and Vestry, and recommended to the Bishop of London for ordination, with the view of undertaking its charge. The Bishop had no difficulty in ratifying this choice; and Vesey amply justified the wisdom of it, by the fidelity and success with which he pursued his ministrations. Humphreys, who published his Historical Account in 1730, speaks of him as then alive, quotes a most remarkable testimony in his favour from Colonel Heathcote, and adds that the rapid increase of the members of our Church in New York was mainly owing to Vesey, 'who, by his whole conduct, had gained the esteem of people of many sorts of persuasions.' Keith, likewise, in the Report of his first Missionary Tour in 1702, states that, at New York, there was 'a brave Congregation of people belonging to the Church, as well as a very fine fabric;' and that Vesey 'was very much esteemed and loved, both for his ministry and

Trinity Church built.

Mr. Vesey, its minister, most diligent and successful.

[16] Humphreys' Historical Account, &c. 585—594.

good life;' a commendation, which Keith applies also to the other Clergy whom he then visited at Boston, Rhode Island, and Philadelphia. In 1698, another Act was passed by the Assembly of New York, enabling the different towns within its territory to build Churches; the provisions of which were enforced, soon after the appointment of Lord Cornbury to the government, in 1701[17].

NEW JERSEY.

New Jersey, the next province which lies in our way between Pennsylvania and New York, was, like the adjoining settlements, peopled in earlier years by successive emigrations from Holland, Sweden, and Finland. In June, 1664, it was separated from the New Netherlands which Charles had granted, a few months before, to the Duke of York, and sold by the Duke to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret (both Proprietors of Carolina), under the name of Nova Cæsarea or New Jersey. The latter name was given to it in compliment to Carteret, whose family came from the Isle of Jersey. The Proprietors appointed Philip Carteret Governor; and, in 1676, the province was divided into East and West Jersey. The manner in which these moieties passed, at different times, into the hands of the Quakers by purchase, has been already mentioned; and the severities, inflicted at the same period upon the Scotch Covenanters, led the latter to emigrate in large bodies to East Jersey. Hence, the whole territory was either under Presbyterian, or Quaker, influence. No avenue was left, through which the ministrations of the Church of England could reach any portion of its in-

Its early settlers adverse to the Church of England.

[17] Humphreys, 201—204; Hawkins, 32.

habitants; and Bray, consequently, in his Memorial, describes them as being wholly 'left to themselves, without priest or altar.' Early in the reign of Queen Anne, indeed, the Proprietary Government of West Jersey was resigned to that Sovereign, who united it with East Jersey under one jurisdiction; and St. Mary's Church was built in Burlington, and Divine Service there celebrated, for the first time, on Whit-Sunday in 1704[18]. But these, as well as many other points of interest connected with the subsequent history of the Church in New Jersey, fall beyond my present limits; and the further consideration of them, therefore, must be deferred to a later chapter.

St. Mary's Church at Burlington.

Of the New England Colonies,—by which I understand not only those of Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, which formed a confederate union with Massachusetts in 1643, but also Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island,—the history has already been given, from the beginning of the reign of Charles I. to the beginning of that of Charles II. In the case of New Hampshire and Maine, as well as in the relation of Eliot's ministry, in Massachusetts, it was brought down to a still later period. Some further notices of these Colonies have also necessarily occurred, in the account just given of New York and other adjoining provinces. It only remains, therefore, to mention some prominent points in their subsequent history which may help us in our present enquiry.

The New England Colonies.

Our thoughts naturally turn, in the first place, to Eliot and his villages of 'praying

Philip's War.

[18] Smith's History of New Jersey; Holmes's Annals, *in loc.*: and Humphreys, 180—183.

Indians.' And here, we find that the outbreak of Philip's war had made most of them desolate. His original name, as the Sachem of Pokanoket, was Metacom; and the name and title of King Philip had been conferred upon him, not as a Baptismal name,—for he ever remained a foe to Christianity,—but as a designation of honour, granted, at his own request, by the Council of Plymouth, at the time of his renewing with them, in 1672, the friendly league which the first emigrants had made with his father Massasoit. The real cause of the hostilities, which broke out soon afterwards, was his jealousy at the gradual intrusion of the English upon the lands which the red man had always looked upon as his own. The mock process of a sale, through which these vast tracts passed away, served to perplex and irritate Philip all the more. Whilst he and his seven hundred warriors were thus brooding over their wrongs, the word came that they should submit to further exactions, and surrender their English arms. Resistance followed; blood was shed; the so-called rebels were tried and hanged; and instantly their brethren started up to avenge their deaths. The Indians of the Narragansett country joined them; and a fearful conflict followed, not, indeed, of army against army in open field,—that was not the warfare which the Indian chose to wage,—but a ceaseless renewal of surprises and assaults, massacres, scalpings, burnings; no labourer in the field, no traveller by the way-side, was safe; at any moment, a shot from an unseen marksman might lay him low; and pursuit was hopeless. For a whole year, the towns and villages of New England were thus kept in constant terror. At length, their armed men went forth, amid snows and tempests, to crush the harassing

foe; they reached the clustering cabins of the Narragansett tribes; broke down the barriers; scattered, after a murderous fight, the remnant of their warriors; and then left the flames to consume their children, and women, and helpless old men. It was impossible that such a war could last much longer. The Indians became worn out with cold, and hunger, and losses, and intestine feuds. Many submitted; others fled; the rest, broken-hearted and spiritless, courted their fate, whether it were death or bondage. Nevertheless, King Philip would not yield; and, when a warrior proposed peace, he struck him dead. At length, having been hunted from place to place, and overwhelmed with grief at the capture of his wife and only son, he fell by the hand of one of his own followers [19].

The Witchcraft delusion.

But the history of Philip's war, and of others waged afterwards with the Indian tribes of the North and East, does not present so dark a page in the annals of New England as that of the witchcraft delusion. Four persons had suffered death for witchcraft in Massachusetts, in 1645; and three more, upon the same charge, in Connecticut, in 1662. Other strange instances also of demoniacal influence, occurring in later years, are described by Cotton Mather, with the unquestioning conviction on his part that they were all true. But the most appalling exhibitions of imposture and superstitious terror were manifested at Boston, in 1688, and, at Salem, in 1692. In the former place, four children of a man named John Godwin were said to have been bewitched by a woman, whose name was

[19] Hubbard's Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, *in loc.*; Neal's New England, ii. 376—406.

Glover, and whose daughter, being a laundress, had been accused, by the eldest of Godwin's children, of having stolen some linen. The frightful contortions and convulsions of these children; their loss of sight, and hearing, and speech; their piteous outcries, on account of sharp wounds and heavy blows said to be inflicted upon them; their barking at one another like dogs, and then purring like cats; their panting with heat, as though a fiery oven were scorching them, and then shivering with cold, as though streams of water were poured upon them; were all alleged to be the signs of the old hag's power over them. The ministers of Boston and Charleston believed thoroughly that all this was the work of Satanic agency; and, that, by virtue of a compact made between Satan and the witch, imps or familiar spirits were delivered over to her to do her bidding. Cotton Mather took the eldest of the children into his house; and her proceedings confirmed him in the belief that she was thus possessed. He and his brethren fasted, and prayed that the plague might cease. The woman was apprehended and tried. She gloried in the power which she claimed, and which the terrified people ascribed to her. Images made of rags, and stuffed with goats' hair, were found in her house, and produced in court; and, as soon as she touched one of these with her hand, the children, who were present, fell into fits. Physicians examined her, and pronounced her sane; and sentence of death was passed upon her. At Salem, in 1691, the objects of witchcraft malice were the daughter and niece of Parris, the minister of the place. Their sufferings were said to be the same with those of Godwin's children, and Tituba, the wife of an Indian man-servant, was

Its extravagancies.

the agent through which they were inflicted. Others of maturer age soon experienced like torments; and, in their fits, cried out upon Tituba, and two others associated with her, saying that they, or their spectres, were the authors of all their miseries. The belief in a supernatural agency at that time was general; and, therefore, the prayers of ministers and people were urgently renewed to obtain the interposition of Heavenly power as a defence against these assaults of the Evil One. The infection spread rapidly. Fresh stories were invented; and others already known were circulated anew in an exaggerated form. Those who disbelieved the power of witchcraft were committed to prison, as well as those who confessed that they were instruments to wield its power. Cotton Mather and his brethren triumphed in these efforts,—successful, as they thought,

Cruel efforts to restrain it.

—to put down 'the most nefandous treason against the Majesty on high!' Witnesses, juries, judges, shared their enthusiasm. The whole people rushed madly on with them in a crusade against the formidable foe. Informers of all kinds were listened to with eager credulity; and the jails were filled with men and women thus hunted down by the clamour of the panic-stricken multitude. Of twenty-eight, who were capitally convicted, nineteen were hanged; fifty-five others were tortured into false confessions; one, who refused to plead, was absolutely pressed to death; and still the prison-doors were opened to receive fresh victims. A hundred and fifty had already been lodged within them; charges were presented before the magistrates against two hundred more. Even the brute creation were charged with being agents in the bewitching process: and a dog was killed, because it

was said to have had power to throw into fits those upon whom it looked.

Its detection.

At length, charges of witchcraft, brought against the wife of Sir William Phipps, the Governor, and some relatives of Increase Mather, one of the most influential ministers in Massachusetts, opened the eyes of the people to the delusion that had been practised; and, when a similar charge was brought, soon afterwards, against a citizen of Boston, he forthwith retorted upon his accusers, and charged them with defamation. From that hour, the phrensy subsided. Mather and his brethren were still the advocates of continued severity; but, in vain. The prisoners were let loose. Many of the witnesses against them freely retracted their testimony, and confessed the falsehood of that to which they had sworn. Jurymen, in like manner, repented of their wrongful verdicts, and Judges of their sentences. If any fresh informer ventured to tell a new story of bewitchment, he was as much scouted, as before he would have been eagerly welcomed: and Parris, who had been foremost in exciting the fears and indignation of the people, was, notwithstanding his public confession of error and prayer for pardon, compelled to give up his ministerial charge and quit Salem [20].

Reflections thereon.

The contemplation of such scenes of human wickedness and weakness is most humiliating. But, whilst we are thankful in the assurance of our freedom from the exciting causes of a superstitious and false belief which led to these exhibitions, we ought to pause, before we pass a sweeping

[20] Mather's Magn., B. vi. c. vii.; Neal, ii. c. xii.

sentence of condemnation against all who bore a part in them. It should be remembered, that, although witchcraft is justly believed to exist no longer,—especially in that supposed form of it which our laws once condemned,—yet to say that it neither can, nor ever did, exist, is to contradict the plainest testimony of Holy Scripture[21]. It should be remembered also that the laws of our country formerly made this offence punishable with death, and that the mass of our countrymen, as well as all the nations of Europe, believed in the justice of such laws; that the annual Sermon, in commemoration of the conviction of the witches of Warbois, in the reign of Elizabeth, was still preached at Huntingdon, in Dr. Johnson's time; that the statutes of Henry VIII. and James I. declared witchcraft to be felony without benefit of Clergy; that the latter sovereign testified, by the publication of his Dialogues of Dæmonologie, his belief in its existence; that, upon the strength of a doctrine thus 'established at once by law and by fashion,' and in accordance with histories then generally received as true, Shakspeare founded one of his most celebrated plays, and drew scenes of mysterious enchantment, which both

[21] Exod. xxii. 18. Lev. xix. 31; xx. 6. 27. Deut. xviii. 10, 11. —Blackstone truly and unreservedly acknowledges this fact (i. 264, Stephen's Ed.), and Judge Story, noticing the terms of his acknowledgment, speaks of it as having reference to a 'matter of controversial divinity, with which he will not meddle.' (Miscellaneous Writings, 81.) It would have been more in accordance, I think, with the usual candour of that great and learned man, if, instead of attempting to put aside as controversial what cannot be really controverted, he had admitted with Grahame (i. 392), that whilst Scripture assures us, that 'witchcraft did once operate in the world, no equal authority has ever proved it to be extinguished.'

he and his audience looked upon as 'awful and affecting;' that Bishop Hall, one of the most shining lights of that same age, although he doubted not that many frauds were mixed up with witchcraft stories, said he could no more 'detract from the truth of all,' than 'deny that there were men living in those ages before us;' that Bacon did not think it beneath the reach of his philosophy to describe the instruments of witchcraft and show how far they were to be trusted; that Coke, the great oracle of English law, speaks of witches as 'horrible, devilish, and wicked offenders;' that sentence of death against many of them was pronounced even by that Judge, whose name, above all others, is held in grateful memory, Sir Matthew Hale[22]; and that Baxter not only wrote a preface to Cotton Mather's book, when it was reprinted in London, and said therein, 'This great instance comes with such convincing evidence, that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee that will not believe it;' but gave further countenance to the views of those who had believed these wild tales of witchcraft by publishing, in the next year, his tract entitled, 'Certainty of the World of Spirits,' a tract which few readers, I think, would rank among his wisest or most edifying writings. Other like testimonies may be cited, proving the hold which a belief in witchcraft had upon the public mind in that day. Witness not only the grave sayings of Scriptural expositors, but the materials of satire which the author of Hudibras

[22] Johnson's Observations on Macbeth, Works, iii. 82; Bp. Hall's Invisible World, Works, viii. 407; Bacon's Works, iv. 466. 490. 522; Coke's Inst. 3rd Part, c. vi.; Howell's State Trials, iii. 647—702.

derived thence[23], and the touching description, given by Otway, of the

> 'wrinkled hag, with age grown double,
> Picking dry sticks, and mumbling to herself,'

which Addison has embodied in one of his papers in the 'Spectator[24].' The picture there drawn of the puzzled cautions of Sir Roger de Coverley to the poor woman into whose hovel he entered, could only have been copied from life, and shows how prone the people of England were, at that time (1711), to treat with severity the infirm and doting creatures, whom they stigmatized as agents of witchcraft. It was not, in fact, until the year 1735, that persons in this country were forbidden by law to charge others with this offence or to prosecute them for it[25].

Causes which tended to aggravate the witchcraft delusion in New England.

The remembrance of these things should restrain the unqualified condemnation, which is sometimes cast upon the people of New England in this matter. But, after every abatement which such considerations may suggest, a heavy burden

[23] Pool's Annotations on St. Matt. viii. 32; Hudibras, Part II. Canto iii. l. 140—154.

[24] No. 117. The materials of Otway's description may be found put together in a yet more vivid form by a writer of the 16th century, Bodin, in his Dæmonomania, p. 136.

[25] This Act is said to have been passed on account of an old woman having been drowned at Tring, on suspicion of witchcraft. Blackstone, iv. 238. *note*. The last execution for witchcraft in England, was in 1716, and in Scotland in 1722. The Seceders in Scotland published an Act of the Associate Presbytery, in 1743, which was republished in 1766, denouncing the repeal of the penal laws against witchcraft as a national sin. (Arnot's Trials, &c. quoted by Grahame, i. 392.)

of reproach still rests upon the generation which took part in so awful a series of impious and cruel acts. Some have tried to defend them by saying, that the system of charms and incantations which the people of New England found in use among the Indian powaws, was a confirmation of their own belief in witchcraft, which they brought with them from Europe. Others have ascribed it to that extreme 'licentiousness in morals,' which prevailed in the country, after the termination of Philip's war[26]. But, if these were the exciting causes, they only aggravate the guilt that followed. Bancroft, indeed, in his zeal against the oppressive rule of William III., has tried to identify the present evils with that policy; saying that they broke out in the 'last year of the administration of Andros, who, as the servant of arbitrary power, had no motive to dispel superstition.' The absurdity of such an insinuation refutes itself. Indeed, the same writer, in the context, clearly shows, that, if Andros had never set foot in the Colony, the same results would have followed; and, that, to the example of Cotton Mather and his brethren in the ministry, is the rapid and fearful development of the mischief to be ascribed. In this last assertion, I believe that Bancroft is right. I will not repeat, indeed, his terms of censure, and say, that 'the ministers, desirous of unjust influence, could build their hope of it only in error;' that 'vanity and love of power had blinded their judgment;' and that the desire to indulge their 'ambition' led them to repress the 'alarming progress of free enquiry,' which they called 'Sadducism[27].' I believe that they were

[26] Grahame, i. 393; Neal, ii. 409.
[27] Bancroft, iii. 72—77.

deceived, and not deceivers; and that not they, but the system, which had, from the outset, bound the whole Colony in the chains of a spiritual despotism, is to be blamed for the issue. Unmindful of the circumstances under which the Jewish Law had been delivered and ordered to be observed, they had made it the basis of all their legislation; and had thus presumptuously attempted to exercise the power, without possessing the authority, of a Theocracy. Whatsoever was found in the letter of the Bible, was, in the blindness of their Bibliolatry, declared to be for ever binding upon all men. Secular power of whatsoever kind became thus, from the very first, wholly subordinate to the spiritual. The ministers of religion were supreme in all things. The civil franchises of the citizens were not allowed to be enjoyed by any, save those who had been admitted to Church-membership; and their rules of Church-membership were nothing less than an impious usurpation of prerogatives which belong to God alone[28]. This was the real cause of the evils which ensued. The administrators, and the subjects, of this unrighteous power, were alike placed in a false position by it. In the former, a lordly intolerance was engendered; in the latter, a superstitious fear. And hence, when the imaginations and passions of both became excited by the lying wonders of the wizard, no barrier was left which could restrain the cruelty of the one, or the terror of the other.

Introduction into Boston of the services of the Church of England.

During this period of New England's confusion and distress, a way of access was opened to the ministrations of our Church. The attempts, before made to

[28] See pp. 161—167, *ante.*

introduce them, although in strict accordance with the terms of their Charter, had been repelled with unmitigated scorn. In addition to former evidences of this fact[29], we find a Petition addressed, in 1646, to the General Court by Robert Child and others, complaining of their being deprived of the Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism; praying 'that all members of the Church of England or Scotland, not scandalous, might be admitted to the privileges of the churches of New England;' and threatening to appeal to Parliament, if their wishes were not granted. The Petition was, of course, refused; they who presented it were fined for seditious language; and the Court said of them, in tones of bitter insult, 'These are the champions who must represent the body of non-freemen. If this be their head, sure they have an unsavoury head, not to be seasoned with much salt[30].' In 1662, Charles II. trusting, doubtless, to the professions of loyalty which had been made by the people of Massachusetts, and believing that they, who had declared that his 'just title to the Crown enthronized him in their consciences, and his graciousness in their affections[31],' would comply with his reasonable wishes, wrote a letter, requiring them to administer the oath of allegiance and to dispense justice in his name; to extend also liberty to all who wished to observe the Book of Common Prayer, and the ordinances set forth in it; and to permit 'all freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in conversation, and orthodox in religion, though of different persuasions concerning

[29] See pp. 140. 146, *ante*.

[30] See the authorities quoted in Greenwood's History of King's Chapel, Boston, U.S., pp. 4—8.

[31] See p. 214, *ante*.

Church-government,' to 'have their votes in the election of all officers, both civil and military.' But such instructions were vain. The people, whatsoever may have been their professions, determined to govern themselves according to their own will; consenting, indeed, to pay to the King a fifth of the gold and silver ore, which their Charter required, but holding, in defiance of all the other provisions not less plainly set forth in the same document, that 'any notice of the King beyond this was only by way of civility[32].'

Commissioners sent out in 1664, charged to secure the observance of the Prayer Book to all who wished it.

Commissioners, therefore, were sent out, in 1664, with power to hear and determine complaints, to settle the peace and security of the country, and to enquire how far the Royal Instructions had been obeyed. Upon this latter point, they were charged to secure the observance of the Book of Common Prayer to all who wished it, 'without incurring any penalty, reproach, or disadvantage, it being very scandalous (said the terms of their Commission) that any persons should be debarred the exercise of their religion according to the laws and customs of England, by those who were indulged with the liberty of being of what profession or religion they pleased.' These words must, indeed, have conveyed a stinging reproof, if the hearts of those to whom they were addressed had been open to conviction; but other thoughts had long since occupied them, and the words were despised. The services of our Church were celebrated before these Commissioners, as long as they continued in the province; but, as the Commission was hateful to the people of Massachusetts, so the Church could gain no

[32] Hutchinson, quoted by Bancroft, ii. 81.

favour by being associated with it[33]. After some interval, a writ of *Quo Warranto* was issued against the Massachusetts Charter. In 1683, Randolph arrived in Boston, bearing the obnoxious document; and, in the following year, an end was put to the Charter. Soon after the proclamation of James II., Dudley arrived, in 1686, as the temporary Royal President of Massachusetts and the northern Colonies, accompanied by Ratcliffe, a Clergyman of the Church of England. An application, forthwith made by him to the Council for leave to officiate in one of the three Congregational meeting-houses of Boston, was refused; but liberty was granted to celebrate Divine Service in the library of the Town-house, which stood upon the site of the present City Hall.

Divine Service celebrated by Ratcliffe in the Library of the Town-house.

In this room were placed a few forms and a moveable pulpit, and Ratcliffe began his ministrations, preaching twice on the Sunday, administering at stated periods the Holy Sacraments, and reading prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays. Churchwardens were also appointed, who gathered on every Sunday evening, after the sermon, a collection for the service of the Church. Addresses were forwarded to the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, craving their support in behalf of the Church, and another to the Massachusetts Council, begging for permission to pass through New England with a Brief, and receive the free-will offerings of all who were disposed to forward the same cause. Ratcliffe's stipend was fixed at £50 a year, exclusive of the sum which the Council might think fit to settle on him; but what

[33] Holmes, i. 325. 329; Bancroft, ii. 426.

that was, I have not learnt. It was agreed also that Mr. Buckley, Chaplain of the Rose frigate, which brought out Ratcliffe, should be at liberty to help him, if he pleased, and 'receive for his paynes 20*s.* a weeke.' The most important notice which I have met with relating to this matter, is the testimony given to Ratcliffe's merits by Dunton, an intelligent London bookseller, who came about the same time to Boston, and was evidently a determined enemy of the Church. Nevertheless, he thus writes:

'Parson Ratcliffe came over with the Charter, and on Lord's Days read the Common Prayer in his surplice, and preached in the Town-house. Mr. Ratcliffe was an eminent preacher, and his sermons were useful and well dressed; I was once or twice to hear him, and it was noised about that Dr. Annesly's son-in-law was turned apostate. But I could easily forgive 'em, in regard the Common Prayer and the surplice were religious novelties in England.'

Randolph's unjustifiable attempts to uphold the ministrations of the Church.

Randolph had been the chief agent in effecting this introduction of the services of our Church into the stronghold of Congregationalism. He had often addressed the Bishop of London upon the subject, in former years, begging him, in pity to their condition, to send over 'a sober, discreet' Clergyman, and assuring him that he would be kindly received, and, if the King's laws were of force among them, receive a sufficient maintenance. In order to prove this, he had proposed to apply a part of the money, then sent over from England for the benefit of the Indians, saying that it was not expended for its original purpose. No proof, however, of the truth of such a charge exists; and the suggestion, to divert from their proper channel the sums so raised, is therefore as little to be justified

as another, wherein he proposed that the three Meeting-houses in Boston should contribute a small payment towards defraying the Church charges. Such counsels could only bring deserved shame upon their author, and aggravate those difficulties of the Church which he sought to remove.

Rigorous conduct of Governor Andros.

Before the year 1686 reached its close, Andros arrived; and he, by his arbitrary acts, aggravated her difficulties yet more. Finding that he could not obtain, by fair means, the loan of any one of the meeting-houses in Boston, for the celebration of our services, he sent Randolph, early in the following year, for the keys of the south Meeting-house; and, although assured by Judge Sewall and others, that the building belonged to them, and that they were not willing to lend it for such an object, insisted that the door should be opened, and the bell rung for Divine Service on the following Friday (Good Friday). His might constituted his sole right to issue, and enforce, such an order. The people yielded; and, for nearly two years, the building continued to be used as a place of worship, at one hour of the day, by members of the Church of England, and, at another, by those who had originally erected it. Meanwhile, ground was obtained elsewhere,—the site, upon which now stands King's Chapel,—a wooden Church built upon it, and Divine Service celebrated therein, for the first time, in June, 1689. Ratcliffe also, and his assistant, Mr. Clark, struggled on, as they best could; but it was a hard task to exhibit the ministrations of the Church in their proper aspect, whilst the acts of her temporal rulers were so tyrannical. A limit was at length put to the people's endurance of them. The tidings of the Revolution in

Church built.

England induced resistance. Andros, Randolph, and others were imprisoned, and, in the following year, sent home. Ratcliffe had preceded them, by a short interval, disheartened by the misrule which he was doomed to witness, and could not avert. He did not, however, leave his post, until a successor, Mr. Myles, had been appointed to it; and both were present at the opening of the new Church. Myles continued to labour there until 1692, when he went home to obtain help for his people. During his absence, his duties were carried on by two Clergymen, Smith and Hatton, the latter of whom proceeded afterwards to the Bahamas. Upon Myles's return, in 1696, he brought with him many evidences of the sympathy, which existed in the highest quarters at home, with him and his brethren across the Atlantic. Valuable articles of Church furniture, with a Bible and Books of Common Prayer (promised by Queen Mary, and, after her decease, given by the King), and copies of the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, constituted the chief offerings of which he was the bearer. In the next year, a costly service of communion plate, the gift also of William and Mary, was added; and an annuity of £100 was granted by the King for the services of an assistant minister. In 1698, a very valuable Library, called the King's Library, was presented by the Bishop of London.

Myles appointed to it.

Offerings given to it.

The history of the men appointed by the same Bishop as assistants to Myles, is a sad one. The first, Mr. Dansy, died on his passage to Boston. The second, Mr. White, who accompanied Lord Bellamont, when he went out to succeed Sir William Phipps in the government, was

The coadjutors of Myles.

driven, with that nobleman, by stress of weather, to Barbados, and there died. The third, Mr. Bridge, fell into a misunderstanding with his superior, which produced much evil afterwards. But no reflection was cast thereby upon the high reputation of Myles. In a letter of the Churchwardens to Bishop Compton, in 1698, they say of him, 'He is well liked of all of us, a good liver and a painful preacher;' and this character he seems never to have forfeited[34]. The first Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel shows that, besides the two above-named Clergymen at Boston, the Bishop of London sent a third, about the year 1700, to Braintree, a town a little to the south-east of the former city. I have not yet been able to ascertain any particulars respecting him or his mission.

The history of the New England Colonies at this period presents nothing further which bears upon our present subject. Rhode Island, indeed, and the Narragansett country, very soon became the scenes of most successful labour to our Missionaries, and the future association of them with the name and services of Berkeley, is alone sufficient to make all English Churchmen regard them with gratitude and reverence. But, anxious as I am to enter upon the relation of Berkeley's noble efforts, I must defer it, and hasten onward.

HUDSON'S BAY.

In my first Volume, I noticed the discovery of the most northern parts of America, by the several navigators, whose names still live in those frozen regions; and I refer here again to the most celebrated of them,—namely, the land discovered by Hudson, and now belonging to the im-

[34] Greenwood, *ut sup.* 10—62.

portant Company which is called after him,—because it became incorporated with the English Empire, in the period now under review. Various expeditions had been fitted out to that quarter of the globe, since Hudson's first discovery, for the purpose of exploring it further; and, in 1668-9, Prince Rupert,—the nephew and companion in arms of Charles I., and still occupying the office of Privy-councillor, and a high naval command, under his restored son,—suggested that another effort of the same kind should be made. The King himself aided the expedition; the parties conducting it went out, and passed the next winter on the banks of the river which still bears the name of Rupert; and, in 1670, a Royal Charter was granted to that Prince, the Duke of Albemarle, Lords Craven, Arlington, and Ashley, Mr. Portman, and others, constituting them a corporate body, under the name of Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, &c., and giving them (with the reservation of the Crown rights which we have noticed in other Charters) the exclusive right of proprietorship over the adjoining territory. It was henceforward to be reckoned as one of the English Colonies in America, and to be called Rupert's Land [35].

The Moravians.

In my former reference to these regions of the frozen North, I remarked that one chief point of interest which distinguished them, was that they are a part of that wide and arduous field of labour which has been, and still is, cultivated with such success by the Church of the United Brethren,

[35] Anderson's History of Commerce, ii. 555, 556; Montgomery Martin's History of the Colonies, iii. 527, 528.

or *Unitas Fratrum;* or, to use a name by which they are still better known, the Moravians. Deriving that name from the province of Austria, in which their fathers dwelt, they had, long ago, by the simplicity of their lives, and the stedfastness with which they had endured persecution for the sake of Christ, established a claim to respect and sympathy. The writings of our own Wiclif had found, in the 14th and 15th centuries, a readier welcome among them and their Bohemian brethren, than they had received even in England. And, when the struggles of the Reformation drew on, and they had been driven away a second time from their habitations, kindly offices of love had been extended to them by the Reformers in England, not less than by those upon the Continent. But the Brethren were brought down afterwards to a still lower state of worldly depression; and when, to the eye of sense, their body seemed about to be extinguished, Comenius drew up a narrative of its Order and Discipline, with a brief historical account prefixed, and transmitted it to Charles II., in the year of his restoration, accompanying it with an affectionate Address to the Church of England. The Address was received in the same spirit in which it had been written; and, soon after the elevation of Sancroft to the See of Canterbury, was specially recommended by Charles, under the hands of that Primate and Bishop Compton, 'to all pious and compassionate Christians.' Other like efforts were made in their behalf by Archbishops Wake and Potter, in the 18th century; and Acts of Parliament were also passed, during the same period, for their encouragement. Thus, a way was opened for the Moravians, by the Church and Legislature of this

Recognised and aided by the Church of England.

Kingdom, into those scenes of Christian enterprise, in which they have exhibited ever since their unwearied faith and love[36].

CAROLINA.

Before I close this survey of our North American Colonies, I must revert once more to Carolina. The arrogant pretensions of its first Proprietors, their speedy failure, and the adverse influences thereby created against the Church, have been already described[37]. We have now arrived at a period in which we find some efforts made successfully to counteract those influences. In 1680-1, a piece of land was granted in Charleston, by 'Originall Jackson, and Meliscent his wife,' as a site for the erection of a building, in which the services of the Church of England were to be celebrated by 'Atkin Williamson, Cleric;' and, in the year following, a Church, of 'black cypress upon a brick foundation, large and stately, and surrounded by a neat white palisade,' was built upon it, and received the name of St. Philip[38]. Williamson discharged the duties of his office, as long as he had strength to do so; and, after his resignation of it, probably about the year

St. Philip's Church built at Charleston, in 1681.

Williamson, its minister.

[36] La Trobe's Preface to Cranzs' History, and *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Angliâ*, pp. 6—23.

[37] See pp. 319—328, *ante*.

[38] Dalcho says in his History (p. 26, note), that the locality of the ground given by Jackson and his wife is not known, and that it is doubtful whether it were in Charleston or not. And yet he says (pp. 27. 32), that the English Church, St. Philip's, was erected upon ground conveyed to Joseph Blake, Governor, in trust, for that use, and that Atkin Williamson, *the clergyman named by Jackson*, was its first minister. The probability, therefore, is that the ground on which St. Philip's stood, was that referred to in Jackson's deed of gift; and I have ventured so to describe it.

1695, continued to reside in the Colony. In consequence of a Petition from him to the provincial Assembly, to consider his services, an Act was passed, March 1, 1710-11, granting him an annuity of £30 for the remainder of his life, and stating that 'he had grown so disabled with age, sickness, and other infirmities, that he could not any longer attend to the duties of his ministerial functions, and was so very poor that he could not maintain himself.' Another Act was passed, of the same date, for building a new Church of brick, in place of the former, which was then falling into decay and too small for the increasing population. Parishes had been established by an Act of the Assembly in 1704.

Establishment of Parishes.

Samuel Marshall was appointed successor to Williamson, in 1696, on the recommendation of Bishop Compton, to whose favourable notice Dr. Bray relates that he had introduced him[39]. Another Clergyman and well-known writer of that day, Burkitt, author of the Commentary upon the New Testament, was instrumental in turning Marshall's mind to the new field of labour now opened in the Western World, and helped him to go out thither. Marshall amply justified the choice which had been made of him to fill this important post, and won the hearts of all ranks by his

Marshall successor to Williamson.

[39] The reader might think that it would have been more correct to have ascribed this statement, not to Bray, but to his biographer, for it is so recorded in his published Life and Designs, &c., p. 9. But I have before said, p. 421, *note*, that this book is taken from a MS. in Sion College, which is an autobiography of Bray. The author of the published work has only changed the pronoun from the first person to the third.

faithful and consistent ministry. The Assembly showed their sense of the value of such services, and their desire to perpetuate them, by passing, in 1698, an Act for the maintenance of a minister of the Church of England in Charleston. It appropriated to Marshall and his successors for ever the yearly salary of £150; and directed,—strangely as it may sound in our ears,—'that a negro man and woman, and four cows and calves, be purchased for his use, and paid for out of the public treasury.' But a point more important than any which relates to the temporal maintenance of ministers in Carolina, is the testimony borne in the above Act to the excellent character of Marshall. Such matters are rarely mentioned, except in terms of conventional usage, in such documents; but, in this Act, the Assembly represent Marshall as one who, 'by his devout and exemplary life, and good doctrine,' had proved himself worthy of the high report made of him by the Bishop of London. A donation, also, of seventeen acres of land for the benefit of Marshall and his successors made, that same year, by Affra Coming, widow, an affectionate daughter of the Church of England, is another proof of the interest which his good services awakened in Carolina.

His excellent character.

But it was the will of the great Head of the Church, that this faithful servant should not continue his work upon earth much longer. He died, in the autumn of 1699, of a malignant fever, which was fatal to many of the inhabitants of Charleston; and the Governor and Council of the province, in a letter dated January 17, 1699-1700, requesting Bishop Compton to send them another minister, thus bear witness to him:

Testimony borne to him at his death.

'That fatherlike care which your Lordship hath taken to fill all the Churches in His Majesty's Plantations in America, with pious, learned, and orthodox Ministers, as well as your Lordship's application to us of that care in a more especial manner, by sending to us so eminently good a man, as our late Minister, the Rev. Mr. Marshall, deceased, encourages us to address your Lordship for such another. He, by his regular, sober, and devout life, gave no advantage to the enemies of our Church to speak ill of its Ministers: By his sound doctrine, the weak sons of our Church he confirmed: By his easy, and, as it were, the natural use of the ceremonies of our Church, took away all occasions of scandal at them: By his prudent and obliging way of living, and manner of practice, he had gained the esteem of all persons. For these reasons it is that we address you for another.'

On the 20th of June, 1700, before the time had elapsed, within which an answer to the above Address could have been received, a Clergyman, named Edward Marston, was elected Rector of St. Philip's, by 'about thirty of the chiefest inhabitants.' This appointment, under the circumstances just mentioned, might have been regarded only as temporary; but it was meant to be, and, but for Marston's misconduct, would have been, permanent. He was afterwards ejected, for contumacious conduct, by order of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the Governor, Chief Justice Trott, and others; and Samuel Thomas, who had been sent out in 1702, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under the sanction of Bishop Compton, to the Yammasee Indians, was appointed in his room. Marston remonstrated against this proceeding, in a violent and scurrilous pamphlet. It was not published until 1712, and therefore cannot now be noticed more particularly; but it is right to observe, that Thomas, howsoever contemptuously Marston spoke of him, was, in every respect, fitted for the post to which he was

Marston and Thomas.

appointed. Although his career was a brief one, he has left evidence enough to prove that he was a worthy successor of Samuel Marshall [40].

Bray's Library at Charleston.

I have before said that Bray's fostering care was extended to Carolina; and a proof of it is supplied in an Act passed by her Assembly, Nov. 16, 1700, for the preservation of a Library which he and others had sent to Charleston, for the use of the Church in the province.

Complaints of the Huguenots in Carolina redressed.

The kind sympathy shown towards the Huguenots in their hour of persecution, in many of the Colonies of England, had been, for a time, followed in Carolina by a vexatious and oppressive jealousy. They complained to the Proprietors, that they were denied the rights of subjects, and treated only as aliens; that their marriages were pronounced void, and their children illegitimate; their estates liable to forfeiture; and the time of their celebration of Divine Worship fixed at hours which made it impossible for those to attend, who lived out of the town, and, being forced to come and go by water, could only do so as the tide served. Instructions were sent out, in 1693, to the authorities of Carolina, to remedy these complaints. The temper of the Colonists caused some delay in complying with them; but, in 1696-7, an Act was passed by the Assembly, securing to the Huguenots the privileges and immunities they desired, and to all Protestants, of whatsoever communion, liberty to enjoy the exercise of their worship without hindrance, provided that they did not disturb the public peace of the province [41].

[40] Hawkins, 48; Humphrey, 82.

[41] Dalcho, 26—58.

West Indies.

I do not enter here into any detailed account of the circumstances affecting our Church in the West Indies, between the period of their history last arrived at and the present, because, in their general character, they are the same with that which has already been described; and a more convenient opportunity may present itself hereafter to notice any new points of interest connected with them. It may be of use, however, to state that the temporal difficulties of these Colonies, during the latter part of the 17th century, were aggravated, and the consequent hindrances in the way of extending to them spiritual aid multiplied, by most calamitous local visitations, and by the policy of rulers at home. In Jamaica,—not now to speak of the perils of an insurrection of Negro slaves in 1684, and of the evils ascribed to the subsequent administration of the Duke of Albemarle,—an earthquake, in 1692, swallowed up the town of Port Royal, with its treasures, and three thousand of its inhabitants, and three thousand more perished by the frightful pestilence which followed[42]. In Barbados, a conspiracy of the Negro slaves struck terror into the hearts of the Planters; and crime brought with it its own punishment in the distress that followed. Lastly, Antigua,—although its history, during this interval, presents not any startling horrors like those just mentioned,—shared, in common with the other Islands, the evils of the war which then raged between France and England, and which made their respective possessions in that quarter of the globe the scenes of continual conflict. True, the names of Codrington,

[42] For an authentic account of this event, see the Philosophical Transactions for 1692.

his son, and others, who bore a distinguished part in those conflicts, are enrolled in the annals of a grateful country; but the miseries, into which they were compelled to plunge, as they led their forces on to victory, were not the less real, and the consequences of them not less a hindrance to the spread of Christian truth and holiness throughout the world.

The Codrington family at Barbados.

The name of Codrington, indeed, is associated with a design directly subsidiary to the holiest purposes, namely, the establishment of the College which still bears his name in Barbados, and an account of which will occupy a prominent place in our future history. Descended from an ancient English family,—which had fought upon the King's side in the Civil War, and, after his overthrow, had settled in Barbados,—the elder Codrington had been born in that Island. He removed from it, in 1674, to Antigua, of which he was appointed Governor in 1689. His son Christopher, who had been born to him before he left Barbados, was sent home to England to be educated; and, having earned for himself the reputation of an accomplished scholar at Christ Church, and All Souls', Oxford,—of which latter College he was elected Fellow in 1689,—entered afterwards into the army, and served both in the West Indies and at the siege of Namur. Upon the death of his father, in 1698, he was appointed by William III. to succeed him in the government of the Leeward Islands. He gave up this appointment in 1704, for what reason it does not appear, but still continued to reside in the West Indies, first, upon his estate in Antigua, and afterwards in Barbados, in which latter Island he died, in 1710. His remains were disinterred in 1716, and carried to England, and

deposited in the Chapel of All Souls', to which College he had bequeathed his books, and a sum of money for the erection of a Library. By the same Will, he bequeathed his estates in Barbados to The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in trust, for the foundation of the College to which reference has been just made[43].

Distressed condition of our West Indian Colonies, in the 17th century.

I have stated above, that our West India Colonies, at this period, were not only sorely tried by calamitous local visitations, but also by what the Planters believed to be the unjust policy of rulers at home. I attempt not to traverse the wide field of enquiry herein opened to us. I only quote the record of their complaints as a witness to prove the difficulties by which the several Islands were then encumbered, and the discouragement thereby given to the ministrations of our Church in each of them. The most remarkable testimony of this character is a Pamphlet, first published in 1689, entitled 'The Groans of the Plantations, or a true Account of their grievous and extreme sufferings, by the heavy impositions upon sugar, and other hardships relating more particularly to Barbados.' 'Our ingenuity is baffled,' say the authors of this Pamphlet, 'and our industry cut up by the roots: here they have us, and there they have us; and we know not which way to turn ourselves.' Again, after showing that the Plantations were 'brought to a miserable and ruinous condition,' and that they had not deserved this hard usage, considering the many

[43] Antigua and the Antiguans, i. 51—56. See also the account of Codrington College by (Dr. Parry) the present Bishop of Barbados; and the Charges of Bishop Coleridge, his excellent predecessor.

and great advantages they brought to England, they ask,

'Hath our dear Mother no bowels for her children that are now at the last gasp, and lay struggling with the pangs of death? Will she do nothing to deliver us from the jaws of death? We cannot despair, but that she will yet look upon us with an eye of mercy. However we desire it may not be ill taken, that we have eased our minds by recounting our sorrows. Let us not be denied the common liberty and privilege of mankind, to groan when we die. Let not our complaints seem troublesome and offensive; but be received with compassion as the groans of dying men.'

To those of our countrymen who are connected with the West Indies at the present time, and have grievous cause to echo similar language of complaint, it may perhaps be some consolation to feel, that, as these their predecessors in suffering were not finally consumed, so to themselves a day of hope and comfort may yet arrive. God grant that it arrive speedily! At all events, whilst with patient and stedfast courage they wait for it, they may be cheered by the reflection, that they have not that heavy burden of reproach hanging upon them, which weighed down those of whom we have here spoken, namely, a heartless indifference to the sufferings of the Negro slave. The Pamphlet above cited betrays this indifference in its most hideous form. The Planters state one of their grievances to be, that, in consequence of the monopoly granted to the Royal African Company, they were forced to give twenty pounds for a Negro, whereas formerly they could purchase them for

'two or three pounds a head in Guiney, and their freight was five pounds for every one that was *brought alive, and could go over the shipside*.' Again, say they, 'our negroes which cost us so dear, are also extremely casual. When a man hath bought a parcel of the best and ablest he can get for money, let him take all the care he

can, he shall lose a full third part of them, before they ever come to do him service. When they are season'd, and used to the country, they stand much better, but to how many mischances are they still subject? If a stiller slip into a rum-cistern, it is sudden death: for it stifles in a moment. If a mill-feeder be catch'd by the finger, his whole body is drawn in, and he is squees'd to pieces. If a boiler get any part into the scalding sugar, it sticks like glew, or birdlime, and 'tis hard to save either limb or life. They will quarrel and kill one another upon small occasions; by many accidents are they disabled, and become a burden: they will run away, and perhaps be never seen more, or they will hang themselves, no creature knows why. And sometimes there comes a mortality among them, which sweeps a great part of them away. When this happens, the poor Planter is in a hard condition, especially if he is still indebted for them [44].'

Duties to be observed by Englishmen upon the recurrence of like distress.

Thus calmly could the Planter of that day look upon his suffering slave, regretting only his mutilated limbs or crushed carcase, as a diminution of profit to himself, a deterioration of his own living chattels. From the sin of such heartless cruelty, the present generation at least is free. A mighty ransom has been paid willingly for the liberation of the slave. A long and arduous struggle, and ofttimes destructive of the lives of those engaged in it, has also been maintained upon the African coast, to restrain that traffic in human flesh which other nations—to their shame be it spoken!—still pursue. And, because these noble efforts have failed so frequently to attain fully the desired end, and distress meanwhile is hanging as a black cloud over our West Indian Colonies, there is danger, lest men should regret the sacrifices which have been made, and long for a renewal of those facilities of prosecuting the slave trade by which their

[44] Groans of the Plantations, &c. 5—31.

former prosperity was upheld. May the merciful Providence of the Almighty avert such an issue from us! Let England and her Colonies endure any thing rather than this. Straitened and pinched with poverty, outstripped by rival nations in the swift career of commercial competition, the calculations of our wise men baffled, and the hopes of the generous and good among us disappointed,—let these, and trials heavier yet than these, come. He, who permits them to assail us, can, and will, convert them into blessings, to those who receive them with a patient and cheerful spirit. But, let them not tempt any of us to swerve from the path of duty; or they may prove the shadows of our coming condemnation, our final overthrow. If, indeed, these miseries have sprung from our own folly or wickedness, let us not be ashamed to confess, and amend, the wrong. If theories of trade and fiscal legislation, howsoever wise or just they may appear to be, have cast an intolerable burden upon our West Indian Colonies,—left as they are to compete with the still slave-holding countries of Cuba and Brazil,—let the legislature reflect once more, ere it be too late, upon the greatness of the responsibility which rests upon them, by adhering to such a policy in all its strictness. But, be the issue of their deliberations what it may, assuredly it is not for us to forge again the chains which we have broken and struck off from the slave, or to relax, in any single quarter, that vigilance, by which we have proclaimed to the whole world our determination, God helping us, to put down the slave trade.

Description of the Bermudas and Newfoundland in

The only English possessions in the Western hemisphere, whose history I have not brought down to the period pre-

Bray's Memorial.

scribed in this Volume, are the Bermudas, and Newfoundland; and they are described by Bray, in his Memorial, as being now in a most destitute condition. In the Bermudas, he says, there was only one minister, 'and he but barely subsisted,' whilst three more were required; and, in Newfoundland, where the services of two ministers at least were needed, there was an entire absence of all spiritual ordinances. No more striking testimony can be found, to prove the fatal power of those evil influences which had so long been operating in these Islands [45].

India.

Turning our attention now to the opposite quarter of the globe, we find the thoughts and prayers of faithful members of our Church directed to the duty of making the existence of our power in India a means of spiritual health unto her people. The difficulties, which originally existed in the way of accomplishing that object, had not been diminished by later events. Our possessions in that country remained substantially the same as they were when we last noticed them. In Bengal, they were still upon a very precarious footing. Fort St. George, or Madras, was established as a Presidency for the government of the Eastern coast, after Bantam, its former site, had been captured by the Dutch. In 1686, the seat of the Western government was transferred from Surat to Bombay; and, in the following year, the latter settlement was made a Regency, and invested with supreme power over all the others belonging to the Company. About two years later,

[45] Bray's Memorial, pp. 11, 12. See also Vol. i. pp. 329—331; and pp. 334—337, *ante*.

Tegnapatam, a little to the south of Pondicherry, which the French had just acquired, was purchased, and fortified, and called Fort St. David. Meanwhile, the affairs of the Company became most embarrassing; their debts were already great; other adventurers to the East were clamouring for a dissolution of their monopoly; and Parliament favoured the views of the assailants. Hence, in 1698, a Charter was granted by William III. for the incorporation of a second East India Company, under the name of the English Company; the old, or London Company, being still permitted to trade along with them for three years. Nothing could be more fatal to the success of any righteous enterprise in India, than the rivalry of two such Companies, seeking to supplant, and defame, and obstruct one another, as they were necessarily tempted to do. It portended destruction also to themselves; and, being soon driven to adjust their mutual differences, an arrangement for their union, upon certain conditions agreed upon by both, was proposed, towards the end of William's reign, and ratified, soon after the accession of Anne; by virtue of which, their former Charters were agreed to be surrendered, after a certain time, and the New Company was henceforth to carry on their operations under the title of 'The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.' Some differences, indeed, between them still remained, and were not settled until 1711, when Lord Godolphin, then Lord High Treasurer of England, gave his final award[46].

Second East India Company incorporated by William III. in 1698.

[46] Bruce, ii. 502—591. iii. 81. 258; Anderson's History, &c., in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 694—700; Mill's British India, B. i. c. v. The Law relating to India, &c., pp. 1—12. The title of

Efforts to extend the ministrations of the Church of England in India by Boyle and Prideaux.

Whilst these perplexing changes were in progress, the high and holy duties incumbent upon England, whose sons were thus striving to set up her dominion in the East, were not forgotten. Foremost among those who, mindful of such duties themselves, strove to lead others to observe them, were Robert Boyle, of whose generous spirit I have before made mention [47], and Humphrey Prideaux, then Prebendary, and afterwards Dean, of Norwich, and author of that most valuable work, 'The Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testament.' Boyle, from an early period, had been a member of the East India Committee; his assistance having been sought for, on account of the benefit which, it was believed, his extensive scientific knowledge would give in respect of the products imported from the East. He had, from the first, sought to stimulate the Company 'to promote the honour and worship of God, by the conversion of those poor infidels in those places, where, by His blessing, they had so much advanced their worldly interest;' and, having failed in that attempt, wrote, in 1677, to Fell, Bishop of Oxford, proposing to have the Malayan Gospels reprinted at Oxford from the Dutch copy which he sent for that purpose. Fell consulted Marshall, Rector of Lincoln College, and Prideaux, then Student and Tutor of Christ Church, upon the subject. The book was published at Boyle's expense, with a preface by Marshall. Prideaux did not think the publication likely to be useful, and ad-

'The United Company,' &c., remained until 3 & 4 Wm. IV., c. 85, s. 3, which enacted that in all transactions whatsoever, the Company may be called 'The East India Company.'

[47] See p. 205, *ante*.

duces good reasons for that opinion, in a letter which he addressed, several years later, (1694-5,) to Archbishop Tenison. Nevertheless, the impression made upon his mind, at that early period of his life,—for he had not attained the age of twenty-nine years, when this proposition from Boyle was submitted to him,—was never afterwards effaced. He read carefully, in the midst of his own unremitting duties, the pamphlets put forth by Sir Josiah Child and others, against the various assailants of the East India Company, and observed, that, according to their own showing, not less than a million of the natives of India were then subject to English rule; that, among these, the Mahommedans had their mosques, the Jews their synagogues, the Hindus their pagodas, the Portuguese their Churches and bands of Roman Catholic Clergy; that the Dutch Presbyterians maintained in India thirty or forty ministers, for the express purpose of bringing the natives to the knowledge of the Christian Faith; that they provided all their factories and ships with ministers, and, in Ceylon, had erected a College, and printed Bibles, Catechisms, and other books, in the Malay and Indian dialects, for the benefit of the eighty thousand converted Indians, who were there enrolled, and others; that the English, on the other hand, possessed no Church, save one at Madras, built under the government of Streynsham Master[48]; that, although English Chaplains were maintained at Surat, Angola, Bombay, Madras, and Fort St. David, their allowances were so small, and their treatment so harsh, that little service could be rendered by them; that the English ships were, 'for the

[48] See p. 277, *ante*.

most part, without prayers, preaching, or sacraments, seldom having any Chaplain on board, except' such as were passing to, or from, the East; and that the inhabitants of St. Helena, amounting to several hundreds, being left without any Christian ordinance, had 'degenerated to that degree of barbarity, as to be reckoned the vilest and most wicked of any our shipping meet with in their whole voyage to the Indies[49].' Prideaux published, early in 1694-5, an Account of the English Settlements in India, embodying these statements, and proposing, as a correction of these frightful evils, that Churches and Schools should be erected at Bombay, Madras, and Fort St. David, for the instruction and edification of the natives in their own language; that men of piety and of prudence should be found out and encouraged to undertake the work; that a Seminary should be established in England for the training of persons to supply the future wants of the Mission; that care should be 'taken only to elect such for this purpose, whose temper, parts, and inclinations, may promise them to be most capable of being fitted for it;' that natives also should be brought from India, and be educated in England, for the further prosecution of the work, and that they should be chosen chiefly out of such of the Christians of Malabar as were not in communion with, or influenced by, the Roman Catholic Portuguese at Goa; that, as soon as circumstances permitted, a Bishop should be settled at Madras, or some other English settlement, and the Semi-

Prideaux's Appeal on this subject.

Proposes that a Bishop be settled at Madras.

[49] One Chaplain had been appointed to St. Helena, in 1675, and two more went out,—in 1698 and 1700,—probably in consequence of this appeal of Prideaux. See Appendix to this Volume, No. I.

nary be removed from this country, and placed under his charge; that, to these ends, careful enquiries should be immediately set on foot for the purpose of ascertaining in what manner, and in what places, the work might be best begun; that the utmost pains should be taken not to exasperate or alarm the people, by resorting to any compulsory or deceitful modes of dealing with them; that copies of all orders and regulations of the Dutch East India Company, upon such matters, should be obtained; that, after a thorough consideration of the whole subject, an Act of Parliament, obliging our East India Company to carry it into effect, should be passed; that 'wise and good men be made choice of in London for the directing and carrying on of the whole design; and that all good Christians pray for the good success of it.'

His plan of dealing with the difficulties before him.

Two great difficulties, in the way of attaining these objects, had presented themselves to the mind of Prideaux; and he describes them without reserve; the first, arising from the Roman Catholic influence of the Portuguese, already established in various parts of India; the second, created by the immoral lives of the English professing Christianity. With respect to the first, he lays it down as a rule, scrupulously to be observed, that, wheresoever our possessions had been acquired, as in the case of Bombay and Madras, upon the faith of certain articles of treaty agreed to by the Portuguese, there nothing should be done which might tend in any way to a breach of that faith; but, that, where this was not the case, it might be well to 'follow the example of the Dutch, who put none into their garrisons but such as' were of their 'own nation and religion.' With respect to the second difficulty, he

felt, that, as the grace of God could alone effectually remove it, so it was to be sought by the diligent and faithful observance of the means of grace. In all our factories, therefore, and forts, he urges that Churches should be built, and that there, as also on board of our ships, the services of pious and able ministers should be secured; and, that, as a further encouragement of them, instead of making the stipends of the Chaplains (as they then were) at the fixed rate of £50 a year, and the like amount depending upon contingencies, the whole should be fixed at £100 a year. He insists also upon the justice of treating the English Chaplains with more respect and courtesy than it seems had hitherto been shown towards them 'at the common table of the factory.' The Popish priest, according to the account then received, sat 'first, the Dutch minister next, and the English minister, at the distance of many places, below both;' an order, which Prideaux thinks might, with propriety, have been reversed. But, far more important than any mere question of precedence, is the proposal which Prideaux again urges, at the end of his appeal, that a Bishop should be sent out to govern the Churches in India, 'and there to breed and ordain upon the spot ministers for the service of the said Churches, that so there may not be a necessity of having them always from England.'

And appeal to Archbishop Tenison.

Such were the proposals of Humphrey Prideaux. He accompanied them by a letter, as I have before said, to Tenison. It was a critical moment; for the by-laws of the Company had only been agreed upon the week before Prideaux wrote this letter, and were then about 'to be confirmed by the Broad Seal.' He entreats

the Archbishop, therefore, to interpose with the King, and obtain an insertion of a by-law, obliging the Company to do 'something towards that good work.' He reminds him of the exertions made by Boyle, then gone to his rest, with whom, doubtless, when he was a parishioner of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Tenison, once its incumbent, had frequently conversed upon this subject. He speaks of the mighty work before them, and of the neglect of which they should be guilty, if they failed to take advantage of the present opportunity. He cheers himself with the remembrance that the Archbishop had accepted from him with candour, 'proposals of a like nature formerly,' and with the hope that what he now offered would likewise meet with favourable acceptance. He thus concludes:

'It is the interest of our Great Master, to whom your Grace and I are equally servants. But you have the greater power, and the larger talents, whereby to promote it. The most that I can do, is to offer the matter to be considered: your Grace only is able to bring it to any effect. I confess we have work enough at home. God Almighty help us; but this is no sufficient reason, when an opportunity is offered to serve Him elsewhere, for us to neglect it. If the Company cannot be brought to do something in the business, it would be a work worthy of your Grace to promote it, by the contributions of well-disposed Christians among us; it would be a matter of great reputation to our Church, if we alone, who are of the Clergy, should undertake it. And, whensoever it shall be thus undertaken, though I serve the Church mostly upon my own estate, yet my purse shall be opened as wide towards it as my means. I will readily subscribe an hundred pounds at the first offer; neither shall I stop here, if the work goes on; and if others will give proportionably, I doubt not but that a great deal might be done herein [50].'

[50] Life of Prideaux, i. 1—14. 151—183.

Clauses inserted in consequence in the Charter of 1698.

The appeal thus made by Prideaux was so far successful, that, in the next Charter, granted by William in 1698, and by which affairs were conducted after the union of the two Companies, the following important clauses, bearing upon this subject, were inserted:

To maintain a minister and schoolmaster at St. Helena, and ministers at their factories in India,

And we do hereby further will and appoint: That the said Company, hereby established, and their successors, shall constantly maintain *a minister and schoolmaster in the Island of St. Helena, when the said Island shall come into the hands or possession of the same Company;* and also one minister in every garrison and superior factory, which the same Company or their successors shall have in the said East Indies, or other parts within the limits aforesaid; and shall also in such garrisons and factories, respectively provide, or set apart, a decent and convenient place for Divine Service only; *and shall also take a chaplain on board every ship which shall be sent by the same Company to the East Indies, or other the parts within the limits aforesaid, which shall be of the burthen of five hundred tons or upwards, for such voyage, the salary of which chaplain shall commence from the time that such ship shall depart from England:* and, moreover, that no such minister shall be sent by the said Company to the East Indies, or other the parts within the limits aforesaid, until he shall have been first approved of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London, for the time being; all which said ministers so to be sent shall be entertained from time to time with due respect.

And a chaplain on board every ship of 500 tons.

They are obliged to learn Portuguese and the native language.

And we do further will and appoint, that all such ministers as shall be sent to reside in India, as aforesaid, shall be obliged to learn, within one year after their arrival, the Portuguese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos, that shall be the servants or slaves of the same Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant religion; and that in case of the death of any of the said ministers, residing in the East Indies, or other the parts within the limits aforesaid, the place of such minister, so dying, shall be supplied by any of the chap-

lains out of the next ships, that shall arrive at or near the place where such minister shall happen to die.

Schoolmasters to be provided.

And we do hereby further will and direct, that the said Company, and their successors, shall, from time to time, provide schoolmasters in all the said garrisons and superior factories, where they shall be found necessary.

The passages marked in Italics in the first of the above clauses refer to provisions for which the E. I. Company are no longer answerable; for St. Helena was transferred to the Crown by Act 3 & 4 Wm. IV. c. 85, and, since the suspension of their trade, they have no longer mercantile shipping [51]. But the recent brief period, during which the Charter of the Company has been inoperative in these respects, is as nothing when compared with the century and more, throughout which the whole clause was in force; and the other enactments still bind them with all the weight of their original authority. It is manifest, therefore, that, to whatsoever extent these obligations have been neglected, the parties guilty of the neglect have committed a grievous, and, in a great measure, an irreparable, wrong. Entrusted, by virtue of this Charter, with the richest and most extensive territory which ever paid tribute to an earthly empire; gathering unto themselves dignity and wealth and patronage, as they have wielded its mighty destinies; it is, nevertheless, notorious that they have, in former days, suffered to fall into partial, and sometimes into total, abeyance, those duties by which it was always required of them that they should uphold in their fleets and forts and factories the observance of Christian ordinances, and make known to the different tribes of India, in their native dialects, through the efficient

Their non-observance.

[51] The Law relating to India, p. 4.

agency of Clergy and of Schoolmasters, the glad tidings of salvation. A heavy burden of condemnation, I repeat, rests upon the heads of those who were thus faithless in their trust.

The Church of England no party to this neglect.

But, let it be remembered that the Church of England, in the persons of some of the most distinguished members of her communion and of her Primate, plainly told them of their duty. A comparison of the above clauses with the statement of Prideaux to Tenison, will show that Tenison had taken care to embody in the Company's Charter, to the very letter, the chief points which had been submitted to his consideration, and which met with his concurrence. And, when we bear in mind that Boyle, some years before, had tried in vain to bind the original Company to the performance of like duties, it is plain that the appointment of these, in their present form and at the present time, must have been directly owing to Tenison's interposition. If further confirmation of the truth of this statement be required, it is found in the fact, that the Archbishop was present at, and witnessed, the signature of the Charter[52].

Prideaux's renewed appeal, on the same subject, to Archbishop Wake.

Prideaux lived until the year 1724, when he reached the age of seventy-six years; and, in May, 1718, although he had long been subject to a most painful and distressing malady, and was yet a laborious student and faithful administrator of his public duties, he addressed a letter to Archbishop Wake upon the subject which, twenty-three years before, he had submitted to his predecessor. It does not appear from it,

[52] Ibid. p. 11.

that any open violation of the clauses of their Charter, above referred to, had then been committed; but it is evident that the work was not going on satisfactorily. Prideaux had watched its progress with an anxious mind; and his experience had brought him to this most important conclusion, that it was 'not possible to carry on the work of the Ministry, either in the East or the West Indies, with any good success, unless there be Bishops and Seminaries settled in them, that so Ministers may be bred and ordained upon the spot.' He then points out the course pursued by the Roman Catholics, who possessed institutions at home, out of which they could send such men as they judged best able to undertake the duties of their missions, and Superiors in India who could watch and direct their proceedings, when they arrived there; and describes the humiliating contrast exhibited in the Church of England, to whom was denied the power of exercising, in like manner, her inherent privileges, her inalienable duties. He thus confirms the conclusion which he had already submitted to Tenison, and those which had been before communicated to the same effect, from North America, the West Indies, and in England, by others,—namely, the necessity of forming forthwith a Colonial Episcopate.

The unsettled state of affairs, at that time, at home, led Prideaux to believe, that, however anxious Wake might be to forward the work, the opportunity might not speedily arrive. Nevertheless, he entreats Wake to keep the matter before him, and refers him to various parties in London, connected with India, from whom fuller information might be received [53].

[53] Life of Prideaux, i. 183—188.

Thus earnestly did this good man seek to strengthen and enlarge the borders of his heavenly Master's kingdom. To India, he had turned his thoughts, amid the studies of his early manhood; to the welfare of the people of India, and of our countrymen in it, he had devoted, with wisdom and faithful intelligence, the counsels of his riper years; and now, in the evening of his life, in great pain and weakness of body, in the midst of other duties which claimed and received his assiduous care, and of other studies, which he prosecuted only that he might make his varied stores of learning instrumental to the elucidation of Holy Scripture,—and prosecuted with such success, that the whole Christian world bears witness to it,—Prideaux is still found watching and praying for the blessing of India. Assuredly, it is a cause of thankfulness to know, that such a man was ours, and that his example is yet before us.

The Church of England at home from 1684 to 1702.

Within the period to which I have, for the most part, here limited the survey of the condition of the Church of England abroad, events occurred at home, intimately affecting her welfare; and to these attention must be briefly directed. The relation of some of them, and those the best known to every reader, has necessarily been interwoven with the different threads of history which have lately passed through our hands. But, as the vicissitudes of England and her national Church, under Charles I., the Commonwealth, and Charles II., were felt, at every turn, and in every remotest land with which she was then connected by her commerce or Colonies, so, in the events which led to the abdication of James II., and to the Revolution which placed his daughter Mary and her husband

William upon the throne, we shall find, that, not only was the integrity of our Church assailed, and the stedfastness of her spiritual rulers severely tried, but that most important consequences resulted from these changes, which operated, for many years afterwards, as strongly abroad as at home, and materially contributed to increase, if they did not create, those difficulties which impeded her progress during the 18th century. I will here recount, therefore, the chief of them.

The acts of James II. after his accession were marked by the same character, and had the same direct tendency, with those which he had been so anxious to promote, when he was heir presumptive. His connexion with the Church of Rome was declared by his going publicly to mass on the first Sunday after his accession. His professed, but not sincere, desire to procure for all who differed from the Church of England a relief from the pains and penalties with which the Parliaments of Charles had visited them, was exhibited not less clearly, by many acts of favour freely granted to them, and, especially, by his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, issued April 4, 1687, whereby all former Statutes, restraining that liberty, were virtually repealed. And, last of all, his arbitrary character, and the purpose, which he had ultimately in view, of giving complete ascendancy to the Church of Rome, by the exercise of this dispensing power, were revealed at every step in characters which could not be mistaken. They were seen through, even by the Nonconformists, with whom he professed so strongly to sympathise, and whom he so abundantly favoured. They were seen through, likewise, by the mass of the

whole nation, as time passed onward, and divulged the secret of his will.

Her treatment by James II.

The conduct of James towards the Church of England was the main evidence which proclaimed him both a tyrant and deceiver. Professing himself, at first, ready to observe an equitable and friendly spirit towards her, he soon entered upon a totally opposite course, and wrote to her Bishops to forbid the Clergy from preaching upon controversial subjects, lest, in the discharge of their plain and imperative duty, they should vindicate too successfully the doctrines of the Reformation, and proclaim truths unwelcome to him and to the members of his communion. The immediate effect of this and other like acts was to arouse the Clergy of the Church of England to a resolute defence of the trust committed to their hand, and to make unsparing onslaught upon the enemies who sought to do it violence. A series of polemical writings more learned, acute, and eloquent than any which had appeared in any country of Europe since the Reformation, was now put forth with unceasing energy by many of the most distinguished of their body, Stillingfleet, Sherlock, Comber, Wake, Tillotson, Patrick, Scott, Whitby, Kidder, Wharton, Tenison,—these and other champions not less stedfast and faithful than they,—plunged into the conflict, and set up on every side enduring tokens of their victory [54]. The record of their work

[54] Lest I should be thought to have overstated the results of this controversy upon the Romish question in the reign of James II., I would remind the reader that Macaulay, assuredly no willing eulogist of the Church of England, describes it as a controversy, in which 'it was impossible for any intelligent and candid Roman

remains to this day to testify how nobly it was done; and, let the renewed assaults which Rome may make upon the liberties of England in a future day be what they may, it is a subject of never-failing thankfulness to know, that, from the armoury herein provided, may be drawn, at any moment, and against any foe, the choicest weapons that can be employed in the service of God and of His Church [55].

James next appointed a Commission for ecclesiastical affairs, vested with most absolute powers, which had no foundation whatsoever in law, and from which Archbishop Sancroft, therefore, pleading the infirmities of age, begged permission to retire. He dragged before that tribunal Bishop Compton himself, and suspended him from his office, because he declined to restrain, in the manner dictated by the King, Sharp, then Rector of St. Giles's, and afterwards Archbishop of York, from preaching against Popery. The question touching the legality of the dispensing power which James had assumed to himself in his Declaration, he refused to submit to a competent tribunal. And, when it was forced to a decision, in the case of Sir Edward Hales, he took all necessary care that it should be determined by such Judges only as he knew

Catholic to deny that the champions of his Church were in every talent and acquirement completely overmatched.' History of England, ii. 110.

[55] I only refer here to that body of select writings, which first appeared chiefly in the reign of James II., and which Bp. Gibson brought together and published in three folio volumes in 1738, entitled, 'A Preservative against Popery, &c.' The same work has lately been carefully revised, and republished in 18 Volumes, small 8vo. Of other works on the same subject, the matchless treatise of Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, will occur to the mind of every reader, as confirming what I have said in the text.

beforehand would act in accordance with his will. He next turned his eyes to our Universities, that he might see where to lay his grasp upon them. He appointed, in 1686, Massey, a Roman Catholic, Dean of Christ Church, in room of Bishop Fell, who had died; and, in the next year, commanded the Fellows of Magdalen College, to elect, as their President, Farmer, another Roman Catholic, whose character would have been a disgrace to any communion. And,—when they nobly and faithfully elected Hough, and refused to admit Bishop Parker, of Oxford, whom the King afterwards sought to thrust upon them,—James forthwith deprived Hough, and twenty-five other Fellows, of their Fellowships, and forbade them to receive preferment from any other hands. He, at the same time, issued edicts scarcely less tyrannical to the University of Cambridge, and the Governors of the Charter House, which both those bodies refused to obey; acting, all this while, in accordance only with his own will; having dismissed, as soon as he could, the Parliament which he was forced to summon, and resolved not to assemble another; looking chiefly to his army for support, and yet not feeling fully assured of its fidelity; and then, as the climax to these and other acts of outrage against conscience, property, and personal freedom, republishing, in April 27, 1688, his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and accompanying it with an Order of Council, that it should be read in every Parish Church:—no marvel that the man, who did all this, should have been working his own ruin.

Trial of the seven Bishops.

The end soon came. A Petition, expressing their unwillingness to read the Declaration, and their readiness to assist

in procuring terms of agreement with the Nonconformists, was signed by Archbishop Sancroft, and Bishops Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol, and presented to the King. His indignation at this refusal to obey his will, was met by the signatures of six more Bishops, expressing their concurrence in the Petition, and by the determination of an overwhelming majority of the Clergy who followed their example, and refused to publish the Declaration in their Churches. The gates of the Tower were then opened to receive the seven faithful men who had withstood the Monarch's will. Amid the tears and prayers of multitudes who sought their blessing, they went within them; and, in the Chapel of that prison, poured forth their supplications, with thanksgivings, unto God. Their trial followed; the verdict of acquittal freed them; and the joyful shouts with which the tidings of that fact were welcomed in the city, in the country, and even in the King's camp, filled him with dismay. Still, for a time, he appeared firm. The Judges, who had pronounced an opinion in favour of the Bishops upon their trial, were dismissed; and the names of those Clergy, who had refused to read the Declaration, were required to be sent in. But all these signs of imperious anger vanished, when the report reached him that the Prince of Orange was at hand. Then, he eagerly published his proclamation, promising to preserve inviolate the Church of England. Then, he courted the counsels of the very Primate, whose presence in the palace he had forbidden, and whose person he had sought to crush. Then, he released from his long term of suspension that resolute Bishop of London, who, by the public

annexation of his signature to the obnoxious Petition, had proved that no frowns of the Court could scare him from his duty. Then, too, he sought to atone for other offences, giving back to the city of London the Charter of which he had robbed them; restoring to magistrates the commissions of peace which he had ordered them to surrender; and promising to do any and every thing which might justly be required for the protection of his subjects. *But it was too late.* A few more weeks, and James had left his throne for ever.

The Revolution of 1688.

With the Revolution, arose new difficulties and causes of division. Many of the Bishops and subordinate ministers of the Church, —even some of those who had been most firm in remonstrating with James, and in refusing to obey his unlawful commands,—felt, nevertheless, that they were bound to maintain their sworn allegiance to him, and could not transfer it to another Sovereign. Upon this ground, eight Bishops, and about four hundred of the Clergy, in various parts of England, refused to take the oath to William and Mary. Whilst efforts were making to overcome their scruples, two of the above number, Bishops Lake of Chichester, and Thomas of Worcester, died. The rest, namely, Archbishop Sancroft, and Bishops Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, White of Peterborough, and Ken of Bath and Wells, being found with the other Clergy still resolute in adhering to this their conscientious conviction, were all deprived of their preferments. It is impossible not to feel the deepest veneration and respect for these Non-juring Clergy, and the Lay-members of our communion who sympathised and acted with them. Some

The Non-Jurors.

of the holiest and most stedfast men of God, ever nurtured in the bosom of our sanctuary, were in their ranks; the memory of whose example, and the words of whose teaching, are still our guide and solace. Had their history begun and ended with that of their temporal privations, I know not what terms of censure could justly have been cast upon them. The purity of their motives must have been admired, even by those who may deny the soundness of their opinions. But a very different feeling arises, when we find them taking steps to continue a separate line of successors in the Episcopal office, and thereby to perpetuate, as far as they could, the schism which had been begun. We then see grievous mischief springing up, in every quarter, both abroad and at home. The Church is divided against herself; altar against altar is set up; and, into the same territorial field of labour, ministers, claiming to be members of the same branch of the Universal Church of Christ, and ordained by the same Apostolical authority, enter, not as united brothers, but as hostile rivals. Political influences, moreover, mingled with, and increased, the bitterness of the conflict. The rights of James survived in the person of him who claimed to be his son; the Non-juror, therefore, of necessity, became a Jacobite; and so, refusing either to render honour to those whom Parliament had constituted the sole source of all lawful authority, or else actually entering into plots or open war to effect their overthrow, furnished the statesman with a reasonable plea for restraining the energies of the Church, of which such men were ministers. Unable to convince those who believed it their duty to put forth its energies in this form, he felt it expedient to

Evil results of the divisions thereby created.

encumber, as far as he could, their exercise. The proofs of this state of things, and of their disastrous consequences, belong to a later period of our history. But the matter of fact is too important, and too closely connected with the present portion of it, not to be noticed in this place.

Toleration Act.

Another consequence of the Revolution must also be noticed here, namely, the altered position of the Nonconformist body, by the passing of the Toleration Act, in the first year of William and Mary. The liberty, indeed, provided by this Act was imperfect, even in respect of those whom it professed to relieve; and was withheld altogether from Roman Catholics, and those who denied the Holy Trinity, against whom even fresh penalties were enacted in the course of the same reign. Nevertheless, it was a measure well fitted to excite the deepest gratitude; it removed a galling yoke from those who were not in communion with the Church; it gave to the Church herself a gift not less precious, by dissociating her from a system of harshness and oppression. But a feeling of regret must ever be awakened in the minds of all who read impartially the annals of that period, at witnessing the failure of the attempt made, both before and after the Revolution, to effect an union of the Church with many of the Nonconformists. Sancroft had sought to promote that object in an honest, intelligent, and impartial spirit. The minds of Baxter and other Separatists had been, for some time, kindly disposed towards the Primate and his brethren. They had admired the zeal and wisdom and firmness with which so many of our Divines, by their writings and actions, had withstood the encroachments of Popery; and, afterwards, when the King's vengeance fell upon

the seven Bishops, many had not hesitated to avow publicly their sympathy with them, and, even in their prison, visited them. "A great door and effectual" seemed herein to be "opened," through which a way of blessed reconciliation might have been found. Sancroft had tried to find it, and held frequent intercourse with Patrick and Sharp and others, upon the means most likely to attain that end. But the change in the government which speedily followed, his views respecting it, and consequent deprivation of authority, put an end, of course, to every hope which had arisen in his mind.

Failure of the attempt to reconcile the Nonconformists.

A similar attempt was renewed, soon after the passing of the Toleration Act; and the Commission, issued Sept. 13, 1689, for preparing alterations in the Liturgy and Canons, was appointed with the view of restoring many to our communion, whom the unhappy strifes of preceding years had separated from it. But its deliberations were vain, and the scheme of comprehension was broken up. Thus, whilst most of the temporal penalties on account of differences of religious faith were rightly done away, the attempt to remove the differences themselves proved ineffectual; and the Church was still left beset with adversaries.

Religious persecution and its consequences in Scotland.

In Scotland, the outrageous system of persecution, pursued under Charles II., and maintained with not less rigour in the earlier part of his successor's reign, in order that Episcopacy might be raised upon the ruins of Presbyterianism, was followed by that signal defeat of its own designs, which attends, sooner or later, the exercise of all unrighteous means. The feelings of the people were exasperated by the long and terrible

oppressions which they had endured; they hated Prelacy, because it was identified with the persons of those by whom they had suffered wrong; they eagerly laid hold upon the opportunity, which the Revolution afforded them, of renewing the Presbyterian discipline; and, by an Act of the Scotch Parliament, in 1690, it was established. Here then was another source of disunion and opposition. The Church was made to bear the penalty of the unlawful deeds which had been committed in her name. The assistance, moreover, which she might have derived from those who still loved her communion in that country, was rendered useless by the causes which have just been pointed out as operating in the case of the English Nonjurors. Like them, the ejected Bishops and Clergy in Scotland were, for the most part, adherents of the exiled prince [56].

Archbishop Tillotson.

The three years (1691—1694) in which Tillotson, the successor of Sancroft, was Primate, were full of trouble to himself, and gave him no opportunity of originating new instruments of Missionary enterprise abroad, or of strengthening those already in operation. The chief management of them rested, we have seen, with Bishop Compton. But the vastness of that field of labour which the growing Colonies of North America opened to the view of Tillotson, the probable progress of the Gospel light to-

[56] For the authorities from which the above sketch is taken, the reader is referred to D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, 2nd Ed., 124—313; Birch's Life of Tillotson, 39—275; Burnet's Own Times; Mackintosh's History of the Revolution *in loc.*; Hallam's Const. Hist. iii. 79—140. 234—239; Bishop Short's Hist. of Ch. of England, c. xvii. xviii.; Rapin, xv. b. 1. xxiv.; Cardwell's Hist. of Conferences, c. ix.

wards those Western regions, and the darkness which might hereafter come, as a judgment, upon the nations of Christian Europe, if they walked not in that same light whilst they had it with them, are all described by him, in his Sermon upon 'The duty of improving the present opportunity and advantages of the Gospel [57].' He quotes therein, as an illustration of the train of thought which he pursued, those lines from 'The Church Militant' of good George Herbert, which have been before brought to the reader's attention; and applies them as a warning to his hearers, that they should not, through their own impenitence or neglect, cause Religion to pass away from them for ever 'to the American strand [58].'

The death of Robert Boyle.

A few months after Tillotson's elevation to the Primacy, the Church lost one of her most excellent and devoted members, Robert Boyle, youngest son of Richard, first Earl of Cork. He died, Dec. 30, 1691; having soon followed to his rest the zealous 'Apostle of the Indians,' whom he had so often rejoiced to help, even after the divisions of that day had separated them [59]. I have already ascribed the revival of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England, after the Restoration, to the influence of Boyle; and he met with much difficulty in accomplishing that object. Colonel Bedingfield, a Roman Catholic, who had sold an estate to the Society soon after its establishment under the Commonwealth, took advantage of the altered state of

[57] Tillotson's Works, ii. 623, fol. ed. The text is St. John xii. 35.

[58] See Vol. i. p. 295. Cotton Mather, in the first sentence of the Introduction to his Magnalia, adopts the same thought and language of Herbert, but without acknowledgment.

[59] See pp. 205—209, *ante*.

things whereby that Corporation had now ceased to exist; repossessed himself of the estate; and refused to give it up, or refund the money for which it had been sold. Boyle immediately took steps to bring Bedingfield's conduct under the notice of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, who, by his decree, compelled the estate to be restored. The revival of the Society soon followed, under a new Charter, Feb. 7, 1661-2; constituting with specific rights, Lords Clarendon, Southampton, the Duke of Albemarle, and others high in office, together with several influential citizens of London, 'a Company, for the propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America.' Of this Company, Boyle, without any solicitation on his part, was appointed the first Governor; and the spirit in which he discharged his duties in that office,—especially his care in urging a mitigation of the severities of New England rule,—may be seen from the following extract of a letter from him to Eliot, in the beginning of the year 1681:

His conduct as Governor of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England.

'I am very glad to find, by the favour of your very kind letter, that God is pleased to continue you still an active and useful instrument in the propagation of the Gospel of his Son among the poor Indians, whose having been so true to Christianity, and serviceable to the English interest, may well prove matter of rejoicing both to you and us. That little, which I have contributed to their good, deserves not so advantageous a mention as your letter makes of it; and duties of that kind have such recompences apportioned to them by God, that the performers need not seek them from the acknowledgments of men.—I have, to my trouble, heard the government of the Massachusetts sharply censured for their great severity to some dissenters, who, contrary to order, had convened at a meeting-house to worship God. This severe proceeding seems to be the more strange, and the less defensible in those, who having left their native country, and crossed the vast ocean to settle in a

wilderness, that they may there enjoy the liberty of worshipping God according to their own conscience, seem to be more engaged than other men to allow their brethren a share in what they thought was so much all good men's due. And, indeed, though persecution for innocent, though perhaps erroneous opinions, taken up for conscience sake, were not unsuitable to the equity and gentleness of the Gospel; yet many of your friends here think it would be a very improper course to be taken by you at this time, and fear, that if your rigorous proceedings against dissenters should be talked of here, (as if you quickly forbear them not they will be,) it would open men's mouths against your government, and furnish your enemies with objections that your friends would not be able to answer; and, besides, may be of very bad consequence to that sort of men here, who do most symbolize with you in point of opinion and worship. You will easily believe that I, who am never likely to visit your Colony, have no private ends of my own in what I have now written; and therefore I hope you will take it, as it is meant, for a friendly (and perhaps not unseasonable) admonition, the despising of which may probably be more prejudicial to your Colony than many among you seem to be aware of. Our worthy friend, Alderman Ashurst (though now, thanks be to God, in a more hopeful condition) was on Wednesday last so ill, that the Corporation could not meet at his house; and the presence of that good man was much missed amongst us, and particularly in reference to your desire of having the Old Testament reprinted in the Indian language. In his absence I read to the company that part of your letter to me, which concerns that affair, and the business was discoursed of among us; but in regard we have had no letters from the commissioners about it, and that the court thought they might hear further before the New Testament and Psalms would be printed off, they did not think fit to determine any more about that business, till they should have a particular account of the progress and expense of the work already begun; by which account they expect to be assisted to take further measures.'

His charity and piety.

It was not only by such counsels that Boyle sought to promote the work assigned to him. He gave to it £300 during his life; by his Will, he bequeathed £100 more; and, his legacies to his sister and other relatives were accompanied with

the expression of his hope, that they would apply 'the greatest part of the same for the advance or propagation of the Christian religion amongst infidels.' Another object of a kindred nature to this was also provided for, by his institution of certain Lectures, to be preached every year in London, 'for proving the Christian religion against notorious Infidels,' and by his further enjoining the Clergy appointed to that office, 'to be assisting to all Companies, and encouraging of them in any undertaking for the propagating the Christian religion to foreign parts [60].' The pious intentions of Boyle in this respect have not been frustrated. Some of the most valuable additions to our theological literature, in the last and present century, have been supplied by the Boyle Lecturers; and, through a faithful continuance in their course, many in future generations shall yet "arise up, and call" him "blessed."

Whilst Boyle was thus devoting the last energies of his life to the prosecution of the same works which had ever interested him, and thus devising plans for their continuance after his departure, we have seen, that the thoughts and prayers of many sincere and affectionate members of the Church were likewise directed to the same important object. Tenison, with whom he had often held intimate and holy converse, whose ministrations in St. Martin's Church had consoled and guided him, who had waited upon him in his hours of sickness and performed, probably, the last sacred office over his remains, as they were deposited in that sanctuary, was himself soon afterwards to be

[60] Boyle's Life, and Appendix thereto prefixed to his Works, i. lxviii. cxx.—clxvii.

an instrument, with others, in establishing and conducting the early operations of those two Societies, which have ever since been the impartial almoners of the Church's bounty, and the chief agents of her will, as she sought to minister to the spiritual wants of England and her Colonies. In 1694, Tenison was translated from the Diocese of Lincoln to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury. Within four years afterwards was instituted THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE; and, again, after an interval of little more than two years, THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS. The circumstances which prepared the way for them have been already briefly described. A more minute account of their formation, and of the proceedings which followed it, will be given hereafter.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CONDITION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AT HOME, DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

A.D. 1700—1800.

Relations between the Church Colonial and the Church at home.

THE enquiries thus far pursued have shown how intimate is the union which subsists between the Church Colonial and the Church at home. Members of the same body, and branches of the same vine, they flourish or decline, they rejoice or suffer, they stand or fall, together. Hence the necessity, which is laid upon all who would trace the influences, for evil or for good, which affect the one, that they should point out the operation of like influences, producing the like results, at the same time, in the other. If any one deem the pains, which I have taken to make this fact apparent thus far, a needless consumption of time and labour, let him look to the wonderful progress of our Colonial Churches in the present day; let him mark how faithfully their enlarged numbers and increased energies reflect, on every side, the quickened zeal and love which stir the hearts of brethren at home; and then ask himself, whether it be possible to give

any adequate representation of what is passing in the one sphere of Christian enterprise, without taking also into account what is passing, at the same time, in the other? This intimate and direct connexion between them remains, not only as long as do the ties of relationship between the Mother-country and her Colonies; but even outlives their rupture. It rises superior to the rudest shock which can destroy the bonds of temporal dominion. Witness the interchange of friendly offices, and the assurances of mutual confidence and love, which continue at the present hour between the rulers and members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and those of our own National Church. We forget herein the humiliating story of past irritations and disputes, which severed from England her most ancient Colonies. We think only, and with deepest gratitude, of the sacredness of that brotherhood which survives every external change.

Bearing then in remembrance its strong and enduring power, as we pursue the history of the Church in the British Colonies in the 18th century, let us here review the influences at work, within and without the Church at home, throughout that period. We shall thereby be enabled to see more clearly the manner in which they were reproduced, under one or another form, in all that she then designed, or did, in distant lands.

The 18th century is represented by most men as an age of the deepest religious declension, when not a gleam of light broke in upon the darkness that was spread over the Church and nation of England. But all exaggerated descriptions are unjust; and the above forms no exception to the

The most celebrated Clergy of

the Church of England in the eighteenth century.

rule. The fact is, that many a bright ray of truth and love and holiness streamed forth amid the gloom of this period; and the brightest of all were they which were reflected from the piety and learning of some of the masters of our own Israel. In the beginning of the century, Beveridge, Patrick, Gastrell, Bull, and Sharp, were among the Bishops of our Church. As years passed on, the light of the saintly Wilson, and afterwards of Hildesley, was reflected from their distant Diocese. The chastened eloquence of Sherlock, the profound reasoning of Butler, the learning of Warburton, the research and acumen of Waterland, the classic elegance of Lowth, the zeal and love of Berkeley, and the paternal vigilance of Secker, were a guide and blessing to those who lived towards the middle of the same period. They, in their turn, were followed by Porteus, as wise and gentle, as he was pious; by Horsley, sagacious, and brave, and eloquent; and by Horne, whose spirit was attuned in harmony with that of the Psalmist, whose words he loved to dwell upon: men, who were the connecting links of their century with our own, and honoured, and loved, by many whom we, of this generation, have been permitted to know and to revere. Let us remember these things and confess, that, even in an age which we are tempted to despise, "God left not Himself without witness." (Acts xiv. 17.)

Her difficulties.

The difficulties, which the Church had to encounter at home, in that age, were many and great; and the recollection of them may serve to mitigate the severity of the judgment pronounced against her in our own.

Effects of

Among the first and most formidable of

them were the divisions to which I alluded in the last chapter, arising out of the Non-juring schism, and the contests between the Stuarts and House of Hanover which were inseparable from it. The evil of such divisions appeared, not merely in the jealousies, distractions, and consequent weakness, spread thereby through different ranks of the Clergy, but in the false position in which their whole body was placed towards the State. At the moment when they most needed the fullest liberty of action that could have been granted, for the exercise of their proper duties at home, and in the extended fields opening to their view abroad, they became the object of just suspicion to the State, by reason of the disaffection of many of them, especially in our Universities, towards those descendants of James I., through the line of his daughter Elizabeth, to whom the Act of Settlement had secured the English throne. This evil suspicion was continually aggravated, through the turn given to it, at the same time, by the disputes of Whigs and Tories both in and out of Parliament, and by the incessant efforts of the Jacobite party to restore, by secret intrigue or open force, the exiled representatives of the Stuart kings. Hence the correspondence, carried on with the court of St. Germain's,—to their shame be it recorded!—by many who held high office under William and under Anne, and who made loud protestations of loyalty and attachment to the powers that were. Hence the open warfare which, in the reigns of the first and second George, was waged by the son and grandson of him who had once occupied the same throne; which caused the blood of the bravest of the sons of Scotland to flow in the field or upon the scaf-

the Non-juring Schism.

Political influences.

fold; and which at one time carried terror and confusion into the heart of England. Hence too the outbreak of mad enthusiasm created by the writings of Sacheverell, and increased by his impeachment. Hence the tyrannous provisions of the Schism Act, passed through the Jacobite influence in both Houses of Parliament, for the purpose, as it was vainly thought, of crushing the Dissenting interest, and which the death of Queen Anne alone prevented from coming into operation. Hence the designs so constantly renewed by Bishop Atterbury, both before and after that event, in favour of the restoration of James, and the accusations pressed against him in so questionable a shape by the government of George I., which consigned him, first, to a rigorous imprisonment in the Tower, and, then, to an exile from which he never returned alive.

Sacheverell.

Atterbury.

Meanwhile, the stream of controversial writings, which found an easy vent whilst such influences were at work, poured itself forth unceasingly; and, had the truth thereby assailed been any thing less than divine, these turbid and bitter waters must have utterly overwhelmed it. The unqualified advocacy, on the one hand, of the doctrines of divine right, of passive obedience, and of the pre-eminence of the sacerdotal power, and the consequent intolerance of all opinions and measures which ran counter to these, led of necessity to the stronger avowal, on the other hand, of the rights of liberty and of conscience; an avowal, which, in its turn, was made sometimes in terms of such unmeasured vehemence as to impair the only true grounds upon which reverence and obedience to any authority can be demanded

Religious feuds.

or enforced. The controversies thus provoked were not confined to rare and isolated cases. On the contrary, through a long series of years, and in connexion with circumstances which had no apparent relation to each other, they were continually renewed. A single Sermon of Sacheverell, towards the beginning of Anne's reign, maintaining, in their most extravagant form, the doctrines of the one party, and a single Sermon of Hoadley, advocating about the same time, not less resolutely, the doctrines of the other, were sufficient to kindle into a blaze the passions of multitudes. And, although to Sacheverell the power to feed this fire with fresh fuel was happily wanting, yet Hoadley possessed both the will and the ability to maintain it in all its fierceness.

Hoadley.

The displeasure of the Lower House of Convocation, which Hoadley drew down upon himself by his sermon in the Church of St. Lawrence Jewry, September 29, 1705, was soon afterwards stirred into fresh action by his controversy with Atterbury; and the recommendation, urged in his behalf by the House of Commons, that he might receive preferment from the ministers of Anne, aggravated it more. The breach was made still wider, when, in the reign of her successor, having been consecrated to the See of Bangor, he again provoked the censures of the Lower House of Convocation by a sermon, preached before the King, in 1717, on 'The Kingdom or Church of Christ.' The consequences of this last dispute were full of evil; leading not only to the long, intricate, and unsatisfactory controversy, to which the name of the See over which Hoadley then presided gave an unenviable notoriety;

The Bangorian Controversy.

but also to the prorogation, and, as far as all practical purposes are concerned, to the virtual suspension of the two Houses of Convocation.

Convocation.

The acts of Convocation[1], to which the reader's attention has been directed in former parts of this work, have been the approval of the Statute for the abolition of the Papal Supremacy in 1534; the confirmation of the 'Articles of Religion' in 1562 and 1571; the compilation of the 'Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical,' in 1603-4; the promulgation of new Canons, in 1640; and the alterations in the Prayer Book, after the failure of the Savoy Conference, in 1661[2]. We have seen, that, in three out of these five instances, namely, the abolition of the Papal Supremacy, the confirmation of the 'Articles of Religion,' and the alterations in the Prayer Book, the voice of Parliament echoed that of Convocation, and the authority of Parliament gave the sanction of law to its acts. We have seen also, with respect to the other two, that the first of them, the Canons of 1603-4, 'not having been confirmed by Parliament, do not *proprio vigore* bind the Laity,' save where 'they are declaratory of the ancient usage and law of the Church of England[3];' and that the other, namely, the Canons of 1640, were not only the work of a Convocation which had no authority to prolong its sittings for that purpose, after Parliament had been dissolved, but comprised many provisions which, by the

Its previous acts.

[1] I mean hereby the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury; the acts of that of York having been in accordance with them, and declared to be so, at the same time, or soon afterwards.

[2] See Vol. i. 15. 104. 141. 416—419; and 250, *ante*.

[3] Lord Hardwicke's Judgment, quoted i. 142, and *note*.

acknowledgment of Clarendon himself, were neither to be justified in law nor equity. They were moreover abrogated by 13 Car. II. c. 12.

The privilege of exemption from the rates and modes of payment of the taxes which were exacted of the Laity in all public aids to the Crown, and of taxing themselves by subsidies especially granted for that purpose (which however required the ratification of Parliament before their payment could be enforced), still remained with the Clergy in Convocation, through the whole period in which the above proceedings occurred. But, in 1665, this privilege of self-taxation was silently given up by the Clergy; and that of voting in the election of members of the House of Commons by virtue of their ecclesiastical freeholds seems, by common consent, to have been substituted for it.

The privilege of self-taxation given up in 1665.

To be summoned, therefore, at the meeting of every new Parliament by the Archbishop's writ, under the direction of the Sovereign, and then, after the observance of certain formalities, to adjourn itself, or to be prorogued by a Royal writ, constituted, at the time of the Revolution, the whole business of Convocation. During the reign of Anne, some graver matters, we shall presently see, were submitted to its consideration; but the disputes, which followed the discussion of them, put a stop to further proceedings; and, since that period, Convocation has existed only in name.

The cessation of its other powers.

It must be admitted, I think, by most men that this state of things is not satisfactory. The very fact of summoning Convocation implies the existence of duties to be performed, and the power to perform them. Such power is, in fact, nothing less than the right con-

ceded to every community of having a voice in the management of its own affairs; and to say that this voice ought not to be expressed at all by the greatest Corporation within the State, is manifestly to give expression to a principle of injustice which no arguments, drawn from the remembrance of past, or the apprehension of possible future abuses, can altogether remove.

But I am not here required to discuss the general merits of this part of the question. All that it concerns me to show is the course of action pursued by the Clergy with reference to it, at the time of which I am now writing; and, since the review about to be taken will prove the greatness of the injury inflicted upon a good cause by the misconduct of its advocates, I would fain hope that it may serve as a warning to those who have revived the like discussion in the present day, that they do not, by their words and acts, force it to a like issue, and thereby postpone indefinitely the reception of a right for which they profess themselves to be so jealous.

Obnoxious spirit of the efforts made to regain them.

If the questions agitated upon this subject, in the reign of William and that of his successors, had been really urged only with the single desire of securing for the Church that freedom of action, which is necessary for the maintenance and extension of her proper duties as the guide and instructor of the people, it is impossible not to believe that every real impediment would long since have been removed. But the very first attempt made, under William III., to effect a reconciliation with such of the Nonconformists as might be willing to return to our communion, met with such instant and rude rejection from the Lower House of Convo-

cation, as to make it plain that men's minds were still heated and exasperated by the conflicts through which they had passed[4]. And, unhappily, during the next ten years, although from the discontinuance of the sittings of Convocation, no opportunity was given to ascertain, in a formal shape, the feelings of that body, there could be no doubt as to the direction towards which they were tending. The strongest conviction was at length forced upon the minds both of the spiritual and temporal rulers of our Church, that the real motive which induced so many of her Clergy at that time to demand for Convocation new and enlarged powers, was not the legitimate desire to exercise more efficiently the duties of their sacred mission, but to obtain an increase of political influence for themselves, or the transfer of it to the Jacobite party in the State. The fact that Atterbury was their most distinguished champion, in a conflict in which he was ably opposed by Wake and Kennett, was alone sufficient to give strength to the latter suspicion; and the character of the prerogatives assumed by the Lower House, as well as the mode by which its members sought to make the assumption good, were tokens not less significant of

[4] See pp. 492, 493, *ante*. The remarks of Macaulay upon the abortive issue of this attempt deserve attention. Its 'defeat (he says) was really an escape, and victory would have been a disaster. A reform, such as in the days of Elizabeth, would have united the great body of English Protestants, would, in the days of William, have alienated more hearts than it would have conciliated.' After enumerating the reasons for this assertion, he infers thence the 'indisputable and most instructive fact, that we are, in a great measure, indebted for the civil and religious liberty which we enjoy, to the pertinacity with which the High Church party, in the Convocation of 1689, refused even to deliberate on any plan of Comprehension.' Hist. of England, iii. 494, 495.

the former. They assumed not only for Convocation generally the powers of an assembly co-ordinate with, and independent of, the House of Commons; but also for themselves in particular, the right of adjourning or continuing their sessions whensoever they pleased, without consulting the Upper House. They spoke, too, in no measured terms of rebuke, of the Upper House, which consisted of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province, notwithstanding that the distinguishing badge of their profession was that of deepest reverence for the Episcopal Order.

Their failure.

The real merits of the case were thus lost sight of; and the different classes of the Clergy exposed to heavier reproach. Suspicions and jealousies were multiplied in every quarter; and the humiliating titles of '*High Church*' and '*Low Church*,' were invented and used, from that day forward, to designate the different parties which men were madly forming.

In 1711, the attention of the combatants was turned aside, for a brief period, to the assault made upon the integrity of their common faith by the book of Professor Whiston. The terms, indeed, of the Queen's licence, under which Convocation had been convened in the preceding year, had especially directed its attention to the prevalence of those mischievous opinions of which the book in question was regarded as an exponent. The first head of business referred to that body was 'the drawing up a representation of the present state of religion among us, with regard to the late excessive growth of infidelity, heresy, and profaneness[5].' Whiston's book was dedicated to both Houses

[5] Cardwell's Synodalia, ii. 731.

of Convocation. They agreed in passing censures upon it, and moved the Crown that the passages objected to therein, in favour of the Arian heresy, should be amended; and that their author, who had already been deprived of his Professorship at Cambridge, should be excluded from communion with the Church of England, of which he was an ordained minister. But the different opinions of the Judges of the law courts, as to the extent of the jurisdiction of Convocation in such matters, prevented any practical result. Again, in the next year, the well-known work of Dr. Samuel Clarke was visited by the censures of both Houses; but the discussion which arose between them, as to the sufficiency of the explanation tendered by him of the statements which had been deemed heretical, again hindered any settlement of the dispute. Another difference arose between the two Houses, in the same year, on the question of Lay Baptism; the Lower House refusing even to entertain a declaration upon that subject which, with one exception, had been agreed to in the Upper.

Its authority virtually suspended since 1717.

All this tended to embroil the conflict yet further: and hence, in 1717, when the same hostile spirit in the Lower House broke out again, in consequence of the sermon, before referred to, preached by Bishop Hoadley, it was judged expedient to put a stop to all further proceedings in that quarter by proroguing both Houses. From that time, although the Convocation has always been convened at the beginning of every Parliament, it has never, until the present time, prolonged its sittings for the dispatch of any business beyond that of the customary formalities[6]. More doubtless has been at-

[6] Burnet's Own Times, ii. 33. 280—285. 345—347. 441—443.

tempted by the Convocation which now exists, and in a spirit calculated, I think, to dispel much of the hostile feeling with which its proceedings have been regarded. But difficulties sufficient to bar their future progress still remain; and the ministers of the Crown have not yet advised their removal.

Simply to record these facts is a painful task; and I will not make it more painful by following the example of those who, thinking that they can gratify a proud and careless world by exposing and magnifying the errors of the Clergy, have thought fit to heap contempt upon them for their conduct in this matter[7]. A more profitable employment than that of censuring them will be to correct ourselves. And the infirmities of a former generation will not be without benefit, if the record of them shall act as a warning to the present.

A lesson to be learnt by the Church of the present day, from the history of these efforts.

And surely we need the warning. Many of the disturbing influences at work in that day are not, it is true, now exhibited in the same actual form; yet the cycle of human controversy has brought them back again, in spirit and in substance, the same. The dissensions created by the Non-juring schism, and its consequences, have passed away; but the discussion of many of the selfsame principles, which were then attacked and defended, is revived at the present hour. The grave and perplexing controversies, which we have

470—472. 570—573. 602—605; Hallam's Const. Hist. iii. 322—331. Cardwell's Synodalia, 692, ad fin.

[7] The gracefulness of the classical allusion, in which the historian of the Constitution of England (iii. 329) has conveyed his opinion of the proceedings in question has not mitigated, but given a sharper point to, the contemptuous character of his description.

witnessed within the last few years, clearly demonstrate the fact that, notwithstanding our freedom from the miseries of a disputed succession to the throne, questions, touching the first principles of allegiance to the Church and to the State, vex and endanger the peace of both; that the lofty claims, now maintained in some quarters, in support of the sacerdotal office, involve consequences little differing from those that were present to the mind of the Non-juror or the Jacobite in the last century; and that sympathy, on the part of some of the distinguished Clergy of our Church, with those doctrines or practices of Rome, which she declares to be repugnant to God's Word, places both them and the Church of which they are ministers in a position not less false,—and exposes both her and them to an imputation not less destructive of all real peace and usefulness,—than that which attached to their predecessors, when they were supposed to be secretly the supporters of a Popish Pretender to the British Crown.

If, at such a moment, and by men who have helped to place their brethren in this false position, the demand for the revival of Convocation be renewed, it will probably be rejected. But a rejection made under such circumstances cannot be fairly construed into a fixed determination upon the part of the State to thrust aside for ever the real merits of the question. A mistrust of those who make the demand ought not to be confounded with a refusal to admit the justice of the demand itself.

Other evil influences at work in the last century.

Other evil influences, besides those just recounted, aggravated the trials of the Church in the last century. The overwrought strictness of Puritanic rule, in the

middle of the 17th century, followed by the licentious and shameful wickedness which disgraced its close, were noxious seeds whose fruit was developed in the coldness and scepticism of the generation that followed. The doctrines of Revelation had been with such violence wrested and perverted amid the shifting scenes of religious strife; and laxity of life and manners had so frequently been permitted to make worthless an orthodox profession of faith, that men, mistaking the counterfeit resemblance of truth for its reality, had become indisposed to receive it in any shape. Their desire to shun the extravagances of the hypocritical zealot, tempted them gradually to be ashamed of principles for which it were a sin not to be zealous. Hence followed a shrinking from the avowal of those terms in which the vital doctrines of the Christian Faith are, and ought to be, expressed; the setting up a lower standard of action than that which Christian Holiness demanded; and a licentiousness of thought, and speech, and act, which spread, like a plague, through the English nation.

The defective state of the law of marriage.

The defective state of the law of marriage supplied in many quarters facilities for the indulgence of such licentiousness. Hence the frequent occurrence of clandestine marriages; the absence of any sufficient safeguard against the stratagems of lust or avarice; and the premium held out to unprincipled and needy Clergymen to become the mere tools of the libertine, and to prostitute at his bidding the sacred offices of religion.

The contempt which such practices cast upon the priestly order, and the miseries which flowed in from them upon society, are too well known to require description in this place. It is but justice, however,

to add, what may not perhaps be so generally known, that these abuses were not suffered to continue unnoticed and uncondemned by the Church. One of the heads of business submitted by Queen Anne, in 1710, to the Convocation, expressly refers to this subject. In 1712, also, proposals were presented by the Lower House respecting it; and, again, in 1714, a Draught of Canons was drawn up for regulating matrimonial licences, in order to the more effectual preventing of clandestine marriages[8]. But it was not until the year 1753, that any effectual remedy for the flagrant evil complained of was provided in the Act then passed (26 Geo. II. c. 33), commonly called Lord Hardwicke's Act.

The state of society.

The charms of polished society, it is true, spread forth their fairest attractions at this period. It was the palmiest day of literature and art. The poet, the philosopher, the essayist, the statesman, the orator, were then held in highest honour. And the warrior was seen raising up trophies of victory, second only to those which one, greater than him in the field and in the senate, has gained for our country in our own day. The glories of Rome under Augustus, or those of France in the court of her great Louis, were claimed as the heritage of England in the days of Anne.

Infidel writers.

But nothing could compensate for the corruption of the sources of vital godliness which, through the length and breadth of the land, was then making itself felt. Not only did controversies, such as those created by the writings of Whiston and Clarke, and, yet more by those of

[8] Cardwell's Synodalia, ii. 731. 770. 795.

Bishops Hoadley and Clayton, harass and perplex the minds of good men; but further instruments of mischief were brought into vigorous action. Witness the rapidity with which the writings of the avowed infidel or specious impugner of the authority of Scripture were then multiplied. Toland, Collins, Tindal, Chubb, Middleton, Woolston, Morgan, Bolingbroke, —the most conspicuous of those who gained an unenviable notoriety in this department of literature, in the earlier part of the century,—were soon succeeded by writers whose fame proved more prominent than theirs, Hume and Gibbon. The warfare, thus continually carried on against the peace and happiness of our countrymen, was sustained also, with even greater energy and more fatal success, in other parts of Europe, by the (so called) philosophers of the French School.

Pernicious results.

Its pernicious consequences soon appeared. The profligate pursued his course with more hard effrontery. The voice of the scoffer became more clamorous. A coarseness of sentiment and expression passed current among writers and readers of well-nigh every class. Even they, who were most distinguished for the wit and gracefulness and polished ease with which, in the pages of the Spectator or Tatler, they informed the public mind, and directed the public opinion, upon many an important subject of daily interest, thought it no dishonour sometimes to utter language which, if now recited in our ears, would raise a blush upon the cheeks of the inexperienced, and stir into action some of the worst passions of our nature. Meanwhile, the champions of truth and holiness were, for the most part, silent. Some, indeed, stepped forth into the

arena with intrepid and stedfast spirit, and wielded, with noble self-devotion and skill, the choicest weapons of heavenly temper. But these were rare exceptions. The Clergy, as a body, were not able to lift up the nation from its fallen state; and, in some instances, helped to plunge it into deeper degradation, by the weight of their evil example. The pictures drawn by Fielding or by Smollett, however exaggerated their figures or coarse their colouring, would hardly have attracted the applause of an admiring world, had there not been some likeness between them and the originals which they were designed to represent. Neither would the graver testimonies of writers, whose political opinions were wide as the poles asunder,—of Bishop Atterbury, for example, in his 'Representation of the State of Religion,' drawn up in obedience to the Queen's command, in 1711, as Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation,—of Bishop Burnet, in the last chapter of the History of his Own Times, in 1713,—and of Bentley, in his Correspondence,—have been so accordant, were not the humiliating facts to which they severally bear witness, in the main, such as they describe[9].

The alarm, sounded by Anne upon this subject in 1710, was renewed by George I. in his Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of England and Wales, in 1721, wherein he speaks of 'divers impious tenets and doctrines' having 'been of late advanced and maintained with much boldness and openness, contrary to the great and fundamental truths of the Christian Religion, and particularly to the doctrine of the Holy

[9] Atterbury's Correspondence, ii. 315—350; Burnet's Own Times, ii. 641; Bentley's Correspondence, i. 39.

and ever Blessed Trinity, and moreover' of 'divers persons, as well as of the Clergy as Laity,' having 'presumed to propagate such impious doctrines, not only by public discourse, but also by publishing books and pamphlets in opposition to the said sacred truths[10].' Southey also relates, that, in the year 1728, when Wesley and his few associates first attracted the notice of the University of Oxford by their strictness of life, the prevailing laxity of religious belief was so great, that the Vice-Chancellor addressed a formal exhortation to the College Tutors to protect the Undergraduates against its influence[11]. If such were the declarations of those who stood in high places, we may well imagine how great and glaring was the evil which provoked them.

Like influences at work in the Church of Rome:

The Church of England was not the only part of Christendom which now suffered decay. The Church of Rome, with all her boasted strength of infallibility, was, during the same period, helpless and prostrate at the feet of unbelievers. Throughout every country of Europe, in which her power was outwardly established, her energies gave way; and, whilst the sophist assailed her with never-ceasing argument, and the mocker heaped upon her unmitigated ridicule and scorn, she remained mute and motionless. 'No Bossuet,' Macaulay truly remarks in his Review of Ranke's History of the Popes, 'No Bossuet, no Pascal, came forth to encounter Voltaire. There appeared not a single defence of the Catholic doctrine

[10] Pfaffii. Hist. Theol., quoted in Wordsworth's Occasional Sermons, First Series, p. 175.

[11] Life of Wesley, i. 47.

which produced any considerable effect, or which is even now remembered.'

And among English Nonconformists.

Neither did the English Nonconformists, as a body, present, during the earlier part of this century, any exception to the prevailing spirit of the age. There were not wanting, indeed, among them individual instances of piety, zeal, and learning; as any one, who calls to mind the writings of Lardner, Benson, Leland, Samuel Chandler, Kippis, Doddridge, and Watts, will gratefully acknowledge [12]. But Calamy, a witness above all suspicion, bears distinct testimony to the decrease of active piety then traceable among his brethren [13]; and fully establishes the conclusion, that the spirit of Baxter and Howe and Henry had ceased to animate a majority of their followers.

The countervailing support of the Church of England.

The above sketch, imperfect as it is, shows the many and great dangers which beset the Church of England. The wounds, which she had received in the conflicts of former years, were not healed. Fresh maladies were bringing down her strength; and elements of future disturbance were at hand. Yet was she not forsaken. The Word of God which gives to her her strongest authority, her healthiest life, was still

[12] The acknowledgment was made gratefully by ministers of our Church to these writers, in their own day, of the services which they rendered to the common cause of truth. See the letters of Secker (after he was Bishop of Oxford) to Lardner, in Kippis's Life of the latter, and Leland's View of Deistical Writers which, as he says in his Preface, was conducted in a series of letters written to his 'most worthy and much esteemed friend, Dr. Wilson, Rector of Walbrook, and Prebendary of Westminster.'

[13] Calamy's Life and Times, ii. 531.

with her in its integrity. The Sacraments, ordained by her Divine Founder, were still duly administered among her people. She still proclaimed to them in the accents of their mother-tongue, the truths deposited in her Creeds, her Articles, her Liturgy. And, whatsoever violence might, for a time, have been done to her, by the subtleties of her polemics, or the coldness of her preachers, or the careless lives of her members, whether in or out of the ministry, these were a perpetual witness against every error of word or act; and, in the end, as the event has proved, had power to vindicate, in spite of all gainsayers, their inherent, indefeasible, authority. Had any opportunity been given to change or tamper with these, the secret of her strength would have been placed in the utmost peril. And it is not among the least important reasons, which may reconcile us to the long-suspension of the functions of the Church in Convocation, that thereby the door was effectually closed against all such designs.

Increase of Churches in the reign of Anne.

But it is not enough to remember, that, amid her difficulties, the Church of England received a countervailing support from those sources of holiness and truth, which are irrespective of, and superior to, the counsels of any earthly power. We ought gratefully to record also the evidences of life and energy which she then exhibited. The successful effort of the Legislature, in the reign of Anne, to provide fifty new Churches for the growing population of London and Westminster, is one of these; and its benefits are felt at this very hour. It should be remarked also, as a cheering contrast to some of its other proceedings, that this needful boon

was conferred upon the metropolis at the instance and petition of Convocation[14].

Queen Anne's Bounty.

Another measure, the benefits of which are yet more widely felt by the Church of this generation, was the creation of the fund, commonly called Queen Anne's Bounty, by which that Sovereign surrendered the revenues of the first fruits and tenths which, ever since the time of Henry VIII., had been the property of the Crown, and consented to vest the same in trustees for ever, to form a perpetual fund for the augmentation of poor livings. The great facilities which have been, and still continue to be, supplied from this source, in aid of the many effective instruments formed by the Legislature of the present day for the promotion of Church extension, are too well known to require further description here.

Lay-members of the Church of England.

Whilst these were among the combined and public efforts of the Crown and Parliament of England to promote the spiritual welfare of her people, many conspicuous examples of individual zeal and piety were seen, even in that day of discouragement and rebuke, exerting their influence towards the same end. The proofs of this will appear more distinctly in the following chapters. For the present, it may suffice to bring to the reader's recollection, the names of some of those affectionate Lay-members of our Church, who were then deservedly held in honour:—of the first Lord Weymouth, for instance, the friend and comforter of the sainted Ken in his hour of adversity, the supporter, as we shall presently see, of some of the earliest Missionary efforts

[14] Cardwell's Synodalia, 826—828.

in our Colonies, and the unwearied promoter of every good work in the neighbourhood of the princely domain still occupied by his descendants; of Francis, the second Lord Guildford, one of the small, but illustrious, band who formed the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; of Daniel, Earl of Nottingham, son of the Lord Chancellor Nottingham, who, having refused the same exalted office under William and Mary, continued to serve his country as one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and received, in 1721, the public thanks of the University of Cambridge, for his defence of the cardinal doctrines of the Christian Faith, against the attacks of Whiston[15]; of Nelson, and of Melmoth, whose services in the general cause of Christian truth and holiness must ever be recorded with deepest gratitude, and whose co-operation in the special labour of promoting the knowledge of them will be related hereafter; and of Addison, whose devotional spirit was manifested in the fervour and unction with which he echoed the thankful feelings of the Psalmist, and in the stedfastness of hope which animated him, when he called his relative to the side of his dying bed, and said, 'See how a Christian can die.' Another also deserves to hold a place in this catalogue of the worthies of the English Church, who was, in some respects, superior to them all,—the sage and moralist, Samuel Johnson. Standing upon the threshold of life, without a profession or influence, and with a widowed mother, hanging, like himself, upon the brink of beggary, he prayed that 'the powers of' his 'mind' might 'not be debilitated by poverty, and that indigence' might 'not force him

[15] Bp. Van Mildert's Life of Waterland, 32.

into any criminal act.' His prayer was heard; and the records of his private thoughts and familiar converse, bear testimony not less conclusive than do his published writings and the solemnities of his dying hour, to the unchanged, unchanging, power of that truth which was his stay and solace, and which enabled him, with unflinching courage and words of weighty eloquence, to teach righteousness unto the people.

The writings of her Clergy.

With respect to the Clergy of the Church of England, at this period, we have seen that there were those among them whose names alone suffice to vindicate it from the unqualified reproach which some men cast upon it [16]. If we have since recounted the adversaries whom they had to encounter, we are but reminded thereby of the services which, throughout the long and varied conflict, some of them strove to render. The supporters of Arian or Socinian heresy might display vigilance, ability, and learning. But the works of Leslie and of Waterland show that they were met at all points by men more vigilant, able, and learned than themselves. Free-thinkers (so-called) might wax bold, and laugh to scorn what they were pleased to call the shallow arguments of superstitious bigots. But Berkeley, with his subtle argument, and graceful wit, and felicitous power of illustration, was quick to expose their fallacies. The voice also of the giant Warburton was heard challenging them to the fight, telling them that he neither loved their cause, nor feared the abilities that supported it; and that while he preserved for their 'persons that justice and charity which' his profession taught 'him to be due to all,' he could 'never

[16] See p. 502, *ante*.

be brought to think otherwise of their character, than as the despisers of the Master whom' he served, 'and as the implacable enemies of that order to which' he had 'the honour to belong[17].' Sceptics, again, of another school, might be diligent in urging, under a less revolting, though not less dangerous, form, objections with respect to the doctrine of a future life, or the moral government of God, or the nature of man's probationary state, or the apparent difficulties of a Revelation, or the appointment of a Mediator and the redemption of the world by Him. But to these and other like objections the celebrated work of Bishop Butler has supplied, and will to the end of time supply, the most convincing answer. We may, indeed, say of that great prelate, in the words which Southey has since traced in the sanctuary which holds his remains, that 'Others had established the historical and prophetical grounds of the Christian Religion, and that sure testimony of its truth which is found in its perfect adaptation to the heart of man. It was reserved for *him* to develop its analogy to the constitution and course of nature; and, laying his strong foundations in the depth of that great argument, there to construct another and irrefragable proof; thus rendering Philosophy subservient to Truth, and finding in outward and visible things the type and evidence of those within the veil.'

In other departments also of literature, the Clergy of the Church of England were conspicuous at this time. The monuments, for instance, of Bentley's rich and varied scholarship will outlive the remembrance of those wretched strifes which debased the dignity,

[17] Warburton's Works, i. 142.

and embittered the happiness, of his academic life. And, however widely some men may differ from the politics or theology of Jeremy Collier, or lament the evils of the Non-juring schism so painfully illustrated in his person, yet no impartial reader can withhold from him the praise of a learned, diligent, and faithful historian, or of an honest, courageous, and candid controversialist. In the pages also of William Law, the attentive reader may trace the learning and the wit which, before they were led astray by the rhapsodies of Jacob Behmen, had strength to put to shame the theories of the licentious sophist; and the piety, which awakened the first impulses of earnest and serious thoughts in the youthful mind of Johnson, and which led him, in his ripened manhood, to pronounce the work in which it is embodied, 'the finest piece of hortatory theology in any language[18].'

Among the Pastors also of many a town and village throughout England, it cannot be doubted that active piety, and patient diligence, and useful learning, were found at the same time having their free course. Two memorable witnesses of this class, Hervey and Townson, may here be cited. I purposely select men trained in opposite schools of theology, and differing in their habits, tastes, and studies. Yet each laboured, with extraordinary zeal and success, in discharge of the common obligations resting upon them as ordained ministers of Christ; and each has left the transcript of his own mind in writings which are now the inheritance of His Church. The ardent and imaginative spirit of the devout still finds in the 'Meditations' of the Minister of Weston-Favell, a guide which shall

[18] Boswell's Life of Johnson, i. 38; ii. 126, ed. 1823.

direct and sustain its workings; whilst they, who love to investigate and give just expression in word and act to the full meaning of Holy Writ, will acknowledge that few more perfect models can be proposed for their imitation than that supplied in the Discourses and Sermons of the Rector of Malpas.

Rise and progress of Methodism.

I have spoken in a former page of fresh elements of disturbance, which arose to vex and weaken the Church of England in this century. I mean those connected with the rise and progress of Methodism. The reaction, wrought by these events upon the minds of men, sprang out of causes existing and operating long before. It was the swing of the pendulum, which no sooner is let fall from the height to which it has been drawn up on one side, than instantly it descends to its first point of rest, and mounts up as quickly to a height far beyond it on the other. The laxity of opinion and practice, which affected a majority of the nation in the present age, we have already seen, was a recoil from the strictness of Puritanic rule which bound it in the age preceding: and this, in its turn, was now to be followed by the rigid discipline and burning zeal of Wesley and his followers. It was a movement, begun, and carried on for many years, within the Church herself. John Wesley and his brother Charles were sons of a Clergyman of that Church, and, in their own persons, called to the same ministry. No man can doubt the strength and ardour of the piety which inspired them, when, in the freshness of their youthful prime at the University of Oxford, they entered upon their daily course of rigorous self-denial, and the unwearied exercise of offices of love and charity. As little reason can there be to question the

The Wesleys.

ardent and intense devotion of him who soon took part with them,—George Whitefield. A menial servant, in his boyhood, in the inn which his mother kept at Gloucester,—then, a poor servitor at Pembroke College, in ragged and dirty apparel,—passing his days and nights in cold and fasting, and bringing down his strength, for a time, to the grave, through the painful austerities of a self-inflicted penance,—returning afterwards to his native city, and there, by his affectionate ministrations to those who were sick or in prison, attracting the regard of the amiable and candid prelate who then presided over that See [19],—receiving friendly counsel from his lips, money from his purse, and, at length, solemn ordination from his hands,—Whitefield went forth to the work of the ministry with a courage and energy which no danger, no difficulty could appal or slacken; soothing and encouraging the sick by daily visits; and, in words of glowing eloquence from the pulpit, rebuking the scoffer, arousing the indolent, stimulating the weak, encouraging the timid, exhorting the careless. The eagerness to hear him spread, like a devouring flame, through the hearts of the people. In London, Oxford, Gloucester, Bristol,—wheresoever he went,—he made a like impression upon the thronging multitudes. When they heard of his approach, they went out in coaches, on horseback, on foot, to meet him. They saluted and blessed him, as he passed along the street. On Sundays, and on week-days, they be-

Whitefield.

[19] Bp. Benson, who shares with Berkeley the honour of extorting praise from Pope, in the midst of his bitter satire:

> Manners with candour are to Benson given,
> To Berkeley every virtue under heaven.

sieged the doors of Churches in which he was to preach, long before the appointed hour. Many were seen repairing thither, even before dawn of day, with lanterns in their hands. They filled every seat. They stood in dense masses along the aisles. They clambered upon the roof, or clung to the staircases, or walls, or windows, or pillars, anxious to catch each syllable that fell from his lips. They embraced him as he descended from the pulpit; and then, with tears, and prayers, and blessings, followed him to his home. For a time, this strange and mighty influence ceased in England, by reason of Whitefield's removal to Georgia, from which province Wesley, who had a few years before gone thither, had just returned. Whitefield soon afterwards came home also. His ordination to the priesthood, by the hands of the same prelate who had admitted him to the diaconate, followed. And, for some time afterwards, Wesley and Whitefield carried on their labours, under the name and with the authority of Clergymen of the Church of England. Then ensued that painful, humiliating, work of strife and jealousy, which began in the separation of these men from each other, and ended in the separation of both from the Church in whose bosom they had been born and nurtured.

The manner in which this schism affected, and has ever since continued to affect, the operations of the Church, both at home and abroad, will appear more fully hereafter. At present I only call attention to the fact; and acknowledge, with sorrow, how much lighter would have been her burden, and how much greater her strength to bear it, had not the spirit of resistance by these her children been provoked by jealous restraint, upon her own part; and fostered

upon their's, by an obstinate adherence to some minute points of practice, which she had called in question, and which even they themselves did not, at the first, regard as necessary for the prosecution of their work.

Two more points remain to be considered, which materially affected the condition and proceedings of the Church of England at home, during the last century, and the consequences of which may be traced, throughout and beyond that period, to the present hour. The first, is the removal of the Scottish Church from a position identical with her own; and the second, her relation towards Protestant communions in the continent of Europe.

Abolition of Episcopacy, and establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland.

The former was the result of causes which had been at work ever since the Reformation, and the progress of which has been described. We have seen the widely different consequences which resulted from that great event in England and in Scotland. In England, the corruptions and abuses only of the Church had been cast off; her Catholic and Apostolic government, her Scriptural services, her Creeds, her Sacraments ordained of Christ, were retained. In Scotland, the widest separation possible had been made from all that existed before; the good and evil alike had been overwhelmed in one wide ruin; and, amid plunder, desolation, tumult, the discipline and theology of Calvin had claimed, and found, the acceptance of her children. But the ascendancy of Presbyterianism was not complete until twenty years after the death of Knox, its distinguished champion. And even then the Tulchan Episcopacy was suffered to exist;—

the arrangement, that is, by which men, having the name of Bishops, but nothing else which could give authority to their voice, or validity to their acts, still held their seats in the Scottish Parliament. To maintain, by a variety of shifting expedients, the influence of the Court between these contending parties, had been the hollow policy of Elizabeth and James I.; and the evils, which they tried to evade, were thereby aggravated. The consecration of Spottiswoode and others in the latter reign, and the measures which followed, held out for a time the hope of better things. But the rash, contradictory, and irritating counsels of Charles I., scattered it to the winds; called into existence the Solemn League and Covenant; and provoked to instant and vigorous action its bitterest hostility against every thing connected with the name, or acts, of Episcopacy. The cruelties, practised in their turn against the Covenanters, under Charles and James II., made the breach yet wider, and cast a heavier burden of reproach upon the Church of England. Guiltless, in truth, of the sins imputed to her, she was left to bear the penalty and disgrace of the unlawful acts which secular rulers committed in her name. And hence, at the Revolution, the people of Scotland,—hating Prelacy, because they identified it with the persons of those by whom they had suffered wrong,—eagerly renewed the Presbyterian discipline; and, in 1690, an Act of her own Parliament established it. There were many, indeed, in that country, especially among the nobility and gentry, and in the Universities, who still loved the communion of the Church of England, and would have rejoiced to do her honour. But they were rendered powerless by the self-same causes which, we have seen, operated in the case of the

English Non-jurors. Like them, the ejected Bishops and Clergy in Scotland were, for the most part, adherents of the exiled prince.

Hence the cruel indignities which they suffered, when the sentence went forth depriving them of all their temporalities; hence the prohibition which forbade them, under pain of imprisonment, to read the Liturgy, or administer the Sacraments, or celebrate any other ordinance of the Church. These disabilities, it is true, were gradually removed in the latter years of William III., and the public ministrations of the Clergy in their chapels permitted; but, after the succession of Anne, in order to appease the fears and disarm the hostility of many who opposed the union of Scotland with England, this liberty was withdrawn; and, in the year 1707, which witnessed the accomplishment of that measure, all the chapels of the Episcopalians were commanded, by Royal mandate, immediately to be shut up. This order was soon afterwards revoked; and the English Liturgy, then introduced, has ever since continued to be the Ritual for public worship in the Scottish Episcopal Church. But the Commission of Assembly strove to prevent her members from enjoying this privilege. They referred to that Article of the Act of Union, which declared the establishment of the Church of Scotland, in its Presbyterian form and discipline, to be an essential and fundamental part of it. And, under the authority supposed to be given by this Article, they handed over to the magistrates of Edinburgh a Mr. Greenshields, a Clergyman from Ireland, who had dared to open a chapel in that city; and he was committed by them to prison. This outbreak of spiritual tyranny was, for a time, restrained by an Act of the Legislature of the

United Kingdom, in 1712, which secured to Episcopalians the liberty of assembling for divine worship in any place, except in Parish Churches.

Severity of the Penal Laws against the Episcopal Church in Scotland.

Upon the death of Anne, two years later, the work of persecution was resumed. The rebellion of 1715 produced fresh animosities and restraints; and, although some of these passed away with the generation in which they sprang up, yet the renewed rebellion of 1745 evoked a spirit more fierce than ever; and the severest pains and penalties were inflicted by the United Parliament alike upon the Clergy and Lay-members of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. The former were subjected to imprisonment, or transportation, if they exercised any pastoral function without registering their Letters of Orders, and taking the required oaths; and the latter were exposed to fine or imprisonment, if they resorted to any Episcopal Meeting-house, without giving information within five days of such proceeding to a magistrate. Moreover, if within the space of the same year they should have been twice present in any such place of worship, they were declared incapable, peer and commoner alike, of being elected a member of either House of Parliament, or of voting at such election. Nor was this all. As soon as some of the Clergy had taken the oaths and made the registration of their Letters of Orders required by the Act just mentioned, another Act was passed, in 1748, declaring all such registrations, both past and future, to be null and void; and the whole body was thus left to bear the weight of that punishment which hitherto had been restricted only to those who refused allegiance to King George. In vain did Bishops Secker of Oxford, Sherlock of London, and Maddox of Worcester, lift up

their voices against so shameful an attack upon the rights and liberties of conscience. A narrow majority of five in the Upper House made it the law of the land; and the only safety for the Clergy was submission or flight. Some, indeed, still tarried in their native land, and, daring to discharge openly their ministerial duties, were cast into prison. Others contrived, in secrecy and by stealth, to continue the constant performance of them. In mountain fastnesses, or in forests, in ruined sheds, in secluded streets, or in dark upper rooms, to which access only could be gained by ladders and trap-doors, they still joined with their faithful brethren in the solemn services of prayer and praise; still duly administered the Sacraments of Christ; still read, still preached, the eternal Word of God. Their chief Pastors also, the Bishops, still watched over the shepherds and their scattered flocks, visiting, confirming, encouraging, warning, each of them. The chasms, which death made in the ranks of the Bishops, were filled up. They were deprived of all temporal power and estate; but the chain of their Apostolic succession, binding them with the past and with the future, was never broken. In their darkest and dreariest hour, the ministers and people of this proscribed communion might have taken up the language of Christ's first followers, and said, without exaggeration and without impiety, that they were "troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed" (2 Cor. iv. 8, 9).

Dr. Seabury, of Connecticut, consecrated by her Bishops in 1784.

The strength of their spiritual life was not only retained, fresh and healthful, within their own oppressed body; but they imparted it to others. By their

Bishops, Dr. Seabury, of Connecticut, the first Bishop of the daughter Church of England in the United States, was consecrated, and sent forth to exercise the duties of that high office in his native land; and, whatsoever have been the many and precious blessings communicated, through other like channels, to our Transatlantic brethren in after years, never can we, or they, forget that the source from which all has flowed was that freely opened by the Church in Scotland, in the day of her depression [20].

Abrogation of the Penal Laws in 1792.

The circumstances which attended the consecration of Bishop Seabury, an event of first importance in the history of our Colonial Church, will be related hereafter. At present, I call attention only to the effects produced by it upon the Church at home. It took place in 1784. And the attention and sympathy, which it naturally excited in many of the leading members of the Church of England, was quickly shown in their efforts to procure for their brethren in Scotland relief from those laws which so heavily afflicted them. The death of Charles Edward, in 1788, greatly facilitated the success of these efforts; and the year 1792 witnessed the

[20] The service thus rendered by the Church in Scotland to the glory of Him Who is the Founder and Lord of all Churches, is no where more emphatically acknowledged than by the late venerable Dr. Routh, in the following passage of his Dedication of the *Reliquiæ Sacræ* to her Bishops and Clergy: 'Faustum omen accipite. Communionem potissimum vestram voluit esse Ecclesiæ Novo-Anglicæ matricem summus ille ecclesiarum pastor et dominus, Dominus et Deus noster Jesus Christus. Magnum certè clarumque Divinæ benevolentiæ indicium. Quo etiam provisum est, ut cui genti vos ipsi successionem vestram sacerdotalem debetis, in ejus progenie parem referatis gratiam, et ipsi emineatis nequaquam minimi in principibus Judæ.'

repeal of every penal statute, and the restoration of every privilege required for the free exercise of their religious worship [21].

Sympathy between the Episcopal Church in Scotland and our own.

This consummation had been long and ardently wished for by some of the most distinguished Clergy and Lay-members of the Church of England. Bishops Horsley, and Horne, and Douglas, among the former, and Mr. Stevens, Treasurer of Queen Anne's Bounty, and his biographer, Mr. (afterwards Mr. Justice) Park, among the latter, were the first to help Bishops Skinner, and Drummond, and Strachan, with their counsel and sympathy, when they repaired to England, upon the apparently hopeless mission of obtaining relief from the disabilities under which they, and their Scottish brethren, laboured. They cheered them under repeated disappointments; opened to them fresh channels of help; renewed, with unwearied diligence, every personal exertion they could make in their behalf; gave generous offerings for the relief of their poverty; and joined them in the expression of hearty thankfulness when, at the last, a successful issue was granted to their work [22]. In all this, a way was opened to that further interchange of kindly offices, and exercise of mutual confidence, between the Scottish Church and

[21] The late Bp. Russell, whose valuable History of the Church in Scotland I have here followed, points out (ii. 109) one clause in the Act of 1792 as still imposing disabilities upon the Scottish Episcopalians. But this anomaly has been removed by recent Acts.

[22] Bp. Horne's Life, Works, i. 150—156; Park's Life of Stevens, 90—105. Stevens, it is said (p. 97), did not even know that there was an Episcopal Church remaining in Scotland, until the consecration of Bp. Seabury:—a remarkable proof of what I have stated in the preceding page.

our own, which have gone on, each year increasing, through the present century. May they never be relaxed, or weakened, by the working of any jealousy or self-will on either side!

It is obvious, however, that the removal of the Episcopal Church in Scotland from the position which she once occupied in that country,—a position, identical with that occupied by the National Church of our own,—and her depressed condition for nearly the whole of the last century, must have acted as a sore discouragement and hindrance to the Church of England, in every foreign and domestic work, throughout the same period. It was not merely the withdrawal from her channels of usefulness of a large portion of the vigorous intellect, and sturdy diligence, and fervid piety, which have ever been the heritage of the Scottish people; but the renewal also, and often with increased strength, of the self-same evils abroad which had acted with such destructive force at home. The importance of these facts, and the little regard paid to them in many quarters, have led me to direct attention to them.

The relation of the Church of England towards the Protestant communions of Europe.

The relation of the Church of England towards the other Protestant communions of the continent of Europe, is another important point, connected with our present subject, which claims consideration. The bonds of sympathy between her and them were first formed, in the time of Henry VIII., by a sense of the common cause in which they were engaged against Rome. They were strengthened, under Edward VI., by the assistance which Cranmer sought, and received, at the hands of Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer; the former of whom was appointed to the theological

chair at Oxford, and the latter at Cambridge. The intimacies, which afterwards sprang up between the English refugees from the Marian persecution, and the Reformers of Frankfort, Strasburg, Zurich, and Geneva, led also to divisions, which, aggravated by Knox and Calvin, were the immediate causes of the ascendancy of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and of the origin and growth of Puritanism in England [23]. But many of the continental Protestants retained their love for the discipline, no less than for the doctrine, of the Church of England. They had profited by the frequent opportunities, which the long and troubled reign of Elizabeth supplied, of proving their truth and excellence; and the result was a deeper admiration of both. The Church of England, upon her part, evinced not any jealousy or suspicion; but displayed a generous and confiding spirit towards them. Some, in the 17th century, were appointed, as laymen, to posts of honour within her sanctuary; others were received into the ranks of her ministry. Of the former class were Isaac Casaubon and Peter du Moulin, the one a native of Geneva, and the other of Bechny, both of whom found, after the murder of Henry IV. of France, a home in England, and were installed, under Royal dispensation from James I., Prebendaries of Canterbury. Gerard Vossius was appointed under Charles I., a member of the same chapter; and his son Isaac was in the next reign made a Canon of Windsor. Of the latter class was Meric Casaubon, the son of Isaac, a native of Geneva, and afterwards trained at Oxford, a laborious and distinguished Clergyman in England, in the time of the

The Casaubons, the Du Moulins, the Vossii, and Horneck, connected with her, in the seventeenth century.

[23] Vol. i. p. 106.

first and second Charles. Peter du Moulin, also, son of the elder Du Moulin, and a native of Paris, preached frequently in the Church of St. Peter in the East, in Oxford; succeeded his father in his stall at Canterbury; and was appointed Chaplain to Charles II. The most distinguished of them was Horneck, a native of the Lower Palatinate, and pupil of Spanheim at Heidelberg, but afterwards incorporated at Oxford, where he became Chaplain of Queen's College, and then Vicar of All Saints. He was next appointed to other cures in different parts of England; and at length chosen Preacher at the Savoy, where he laboured with an extraordinary measure of success. He was appointed also a Prebendary of Westminster under William and Mary, and a Prebendary of Wells by Bishop Kidder, his friend and biographer [24]. Thus did England manifest her friendly feelings towards the various Protestant communions of Europe in which these men had been born and nurtured [25].

[24] Chalmers's Biog. Dict. *in loc.*

[25] It is remarkable that, amid all the stringent provisions of the last Act of Uniformity, a clause should be inserted (the 15th) which provides that the penalties of the Act should not extend to the 'Foreigners or Aliens of the Foreign Reformed Churches allowed, or to be allowed by the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors in England.' Whether this protection was intended to apply only to the Dutch and Walloon Congregations which had found refuge in England at an early period of the Reformation, and been permitted to assemble for worship in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, or whether it were meant to extend to such cases as that of Meric Casaubon and Peter du Moulin, I cannot pretend to determine. I am disposed however to believe that the latter design is the most probable. At all events, the existence of such a clause in the Act of Uniformity is a very significant proof of what I have said in the text with respect to the friendly disposition of England towards the Protestant communions of Europe.

Special causes which afterwards led to closer relations between the Church of England and the Protestant communions of Europe.

The freedom of the countries, in which such communions were established, from the troubles which had shaken England to its centre in the 17th century, had enabled them to prepare and keep in constant exercise many efficient instruments required in the work of the Christian education and ministry. Our own Church, slowly recovering from her trials, had yet to learn their familiar use. She naturally sought therefore the knowledge of them at the hands of those best able to give it. The extension of such help strengthened the bonds of Christian fellowship already existing between her and the Protestant congregations of Europe; and led them both to look, not so much to the points of difference which distinguished them, as to the common grounds of union upon which they could stand, side by side together, and work in harmony. Hence the intimate co-operation which, we shall see, sprang up between the Church of England and Swiss and German and Danish teachers and Missionaries, in the work of promoting the knowledge of Christian truth at home and abroad. This help was given and received in a spirit of purest Christian love; and, had the like spirit been maintained in after years, there is good reason to believe, that, without any compromise of their distinctive principles, the congregations of the different Protestants of Europe would have been established upon a sounder and more enduring basis than they now are.

Sharp, Archbishop of York.

Other circumstances concurred, at the beginning of the 18th century, to draw more closely together these bonds of union; and the position and character of our Church, with respect to its Missionary work at that time and after-

wards, cannot be adequately understood, unless some brief mention of them be made. The pecuniary aid, which had been extended for many years by William and Mary to the suffering Vaudois, and which Sharp, Archbishop of York, and almoner to Queen Anne, was so active in his endeavours to revive, after it had been for a time suspended; and the further relief, which that same prelate had urged upon the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London to obtain for the distressed Churches of the Palatinate, through the medium of a general collection (to be made under Royal authority) throughout the Parish Churches of England, indicate the friendly spirit which then prevailed in this country towards the Protestant brethren of Europe. But Archbishop Sharp was anxious to effect a far more extensive and lasting good than any which could result from the relief of temporary affliction. He had already manifested this feeling in his promptness to help the Armenian Bishops who came over to this country in 1706, in behalf of the distressed Greek Churches. He had also rendered essential service in the settlement of a Church at Rotterdam; and, in both these instances, received the hearty sympathy and support of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. At an early period of its existence, March 17, 1700-1, the Society had shown its readiness to forward a like design by requesting Bishop Williams of Chichester to draw up a paper for the use of the Greek Christians, which was to be translated into the vulgar Greek by some Greeks then at Oxford. To promote, therefore, the Archbishop's project, in the present instance, was only to take another step in the path already opened. He now invited its members to a wider field

His zealous efforts to relieve the distressed Protestants of Europe.

of enterprise, in the application which he urged upon Queen Anne in 1709, that care should be taken, in a treaty of peace which was then about to be formed, that our plenipotentiaries should be instructed to enquire into the condition of the Protestant religion in France, the Palatinate, the country of the Vaudois, Silesia, &c.; and that a Clergyman acquainted with their state should be sent from this country to assist them. Hales, an English Clergyman, who had lately visited Zurich, and been long interested in the Protestant congregations of Europe, was requested by Sharp to draw up a report, and the Bishop of Ely undertook to present it to the Queen.

His correspondence with Jablonski, Chaplain to the King of Prussia.

The Archbishop was encouraged to enter upon this difficult work from a conviction that, among many of the leading men in different parts of Europe, there existed a strong and sincere feeling of admiration for the Church of England. In Prussia, particularly, distinct expression had been given to this feeling. Its Protestant subjects had been for some time divided into two separate bodies, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, or, as the latter preferred to call themselves, the Reformed. Frederic I. of Prussia had given, at the time of his coronation in 1700, the title of Bishop to two of his chief Clergy, leaders of those respective parties. The Lutheran Bishop, as he was called, soon died; but the Reformed Bishop, Ursinus, lived still, retaining his title. Frederic was most anxious to join the two bodies under one head; and believed that the adoption of the ritual and discipline of the Church of England would be the readiest way to accomplish that object. Jablonski, his Chaplain, and senior of the Protestant Church in Poland, had mainly induced the King to

Jablonski's Letter to Dr. Nicholls.

this opinion. A Letter is still extant, written in Latin by Jablonski from Berlin, Jan. 10, 1708, to Dr. Nicholls, an English Clergyman, relating the means by which he was brought to know and venerate the Church of England. This is the same Dr. Nicholls who, we shall see hereafter, was requested by the Society to address a Latin Epistle on its behalf to the Clergy of the Canton of Zurich. Jablonski informs him, that, in early life, he had been taught to regard the Church of England with feelings of deepest aversion; but that, afterwards, having had the opportunity of visiting this country, and examining carefully the grounds upon which her Liturgy and Articles were established, and having learnt, by intimate acquaintance with Archbishop Sancroft, Bishop Compton, and Bishop Hough, the course of its practical working, he had arrived at the conclusion that, 'of all the reformed Churches it approached most nearly the model of the Primitive Church; that it was the brightest constellation in the Christian heaven, the chief glory of the Reformation, the firmest bulwark of the Gospel against Popery, and that none could reject communion with her and be safe from the brand of schism[26].'

Ursinus's Letter touching the design of introducing the Liturgy

Whether Ursinus shared to its full extent the admiration of the Church of England, which Jablonski so warmly testified, does not appear. But there is no doubt

[26] Eamque [Ecclesiam Anglicanam] hoc nomine inter omnes Ecclesias reformatas ad exemplar Ecclesiæ primitivæ maximè accedere, meritòque audire sydus in Cœlo Christiano lucidissimum, decus Reformationis primarium, et evangelii adversus Papatum propugnaculum firmissimum, cujus communionem absque schismatis notâ aspernari possit nemo. Archbp. Sharp's Life, ii. 154.

that his influence was united with that of Jablonski in conveying to the King's mind a favourable impression of the Church of England; and that the English Liturgy was ordered in consequence to be translated into High Dutch, with the view of being used in the King's Chapel and the Cathedral, in the hope that the ministers of other Churches throughout Prussia might follow the example. Ursinus was directed, also, to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to inform him of what was designed, and to ask his advice respecting it. A copy of the translated English Liturgy accompanied the letter.

of the Church of England into Prussia.

The determination of the Prussian King to adhere to his project seemed mainly to depend upon the degree of encouragement he should receive from the English Church. His displeasure, therefore, and perplexity may well be imagined, when not a single word of response was heard from Tenison. Queen Anne, to whom a similar letter had been addressed by Ursinus, had duly returned her acknowledgments to Frederic through Lord Raby, then the English Minister at the Prussian Court. But Tenison remained silent; and the cause of it has never yet been satisfactorily explained. Some have alleged that the letter of Ursinus never came into his hands; others, that he entertained so mean an opinion of Ursinus that he refused to answer him. It is only left for us to note and lament the fact, that, in consequence of this apparent discouragement on the part of the English Church, the design of Frederic was abandoned.

Failure of the design.

Nevertheless, Jablonski continued his efforts to secure the closest approximation he could to the Church of England. With

Jablonski's continued efforts to that end, and

correspondence with Archbishop Sharp.

this view, he carried on, through the hands of Mr. Ayerst, Chaplain to Lord Raby at Berlin, a correspondence with Archbishop Sharp, who heartily encouraged his project, and expressed an earnest desire to do something towards 'the happy union of the divided Protestants' throughout Europe. The Archbishop found a valuable supporter and counsellor in Dr. Grabe, a personal friend of Jablonski, who had resided for many years in England, and there gained for himself the distinction of being not only on terms of friendly intimacy with Bishop Bull, but also of being entrusted by that prelate, in his declining years, with the charge of editing his valuable theological Latin works. Nelson, who had the most affectionate regard for Grabe, speaks, in his Life of Bishop Bull [27], of the plan which Grabe had made for restoring the Episcopal office and order in Prussia, and of his proposal to introduce a Liturgy after the model of the English service. The Archbishop derived further assistance, in the matter which he had now at heart, from Hales, the English Clergyman, whose personal intimacy with different Protestants of Europe has been before mentioned [28], and also from Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, and afterwards of London. This prelate had formerly been envoy in Sweden, and employed in protecting the interests of certain Lutheran Congregations. After his elevation to the See of Bristol, he filled the office of Lord Privy Seal, and left it for a time in commission, whilst he went, as chief plenipotentiary, to conduct the treaty

Dr. Grabe.

Hales.

Bishop Robinson.

[27] P. 344.

[28] See p. 541, *ante*.

of Utrecht. Howsoever inconsistent the office of a diplomatist with that of Bishop[29], there can be no doubt that the experience gained in the exercise of the former enabled Robinson to give valuable help to the Archbishop in the prosecution of his present design. Profiting by such help, Sharp renewed his efforts to accomplish the desired union; never for one moment foregoing his belief, that, in the absence of Episcopal government, was to be found the chief imperfection of the Protestant congregations of Europe; yet, in his endeavours to supply that want, remembering the principle which made believers one body in Christ, and avowing that principle with a distinctness as clear as that which Bishop Bull had manifested, when, in his celebrated Defence of the Catholic Faith, he speaks of the Lutherans as our brethren[30].

The Lower House of Convocation desires to promote the same work.

These efforts to establish an union between the Church of England and the Protestant Communions of Europe, were not made only by Archbishop Sharp and his friends. It is very remarkable, that in the year 1705, in which the disputes of the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation were at their height, an unanimity was expressed upon this same point. The members of the Lower House inserted the two following paragraphs upon the subject, in the Letter which they then addressed to the Upper House.

Nor can they omit taking notice of the present endeavours of several Reformed Churches to accommodate themselves to our Liturgy and constitution, mentioned in the late form of an Address

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[29] I believe no later instance is to be found of an ecclesiastic filling such offices.

[30] '*Fratres nostri Lutherani*,' Def. Fid. Nic. ii. 9. 6.

sent down by your Lordships. They are very desirous of knowing your Lordship's opinion, in what manner it may be proper for this Convocation, with Her Majesty's leave and encouragement, to express their great satisfaction to find in them such good dispositions, and their readiness to maintain and cherish such a fraternal correspondence with them, as may strengthen the interest of the reformed religion against the common enemy.

They do further propose to your Lordships' consideration, what fit methods may (with the same leave and encouragement) be taken by this Synod, for uniting and inducing the pastors of the French Protestant Churches among us to use their best endeavours with their people for an universal reception of our Liturgy; which hath had the approbation of their most eminent divines, hath been long used in several of their congregations within this kingdom, and by Her Majesty's special influence hath been lately introduced into the French congregation held in the chapel near her royal palace [31].

This Letter is most important, as proving the extent of sympathy towards the Protestants of Europe, which then prevailed among the inferior orders of the English Clergy. A majority of those who were, at that time, members of the Lower House, it is well known, were especially jealous of the authority of the priesthood, and ready to incur the displeasure of their rulers, temporal and spiritual, rather than give up what they believed to be its high and just prerogatives. Their adversaries charged them, on this account, with indulging an intolerant and exclusive spirit. And yet, they here proclaim their '*readiness to maintain and cherish such a fraternal correspondence with the several Reformed Churches, as may strengthen the interest of the reformed religion against the common enemy.*'

Queen Anne and her Ministers support

This Letter derives fresh importance from the stress laid upon it, a few years

[31] Cardwell's Synodalia, 722, 723.

afterwards, in the communication made by Secretary St. John (afterwards Lord Bolingbroke) to Raby, when he was about to remove, as minister, from Berlin to the Hague. He expresses the strong desire of the Queen that Raby should urge forward the work, and recommend it to the notice of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Prussia. His words are,

port it. Secretary St. John's Letter.

> You will please, my Lord, to assure them, that Her Majesty is ready to give all possible encouragement to that excellent work, and that those who have the honour to serve her are heartily disposed to contribute all that is in their power to the same end. Your Excellency may venture to assure them further, that the Clergy are zealous in this cause; and, if former overtures have met with a cold reception from any of that body, such behaviour was directly contrary to their general inclination and to their avowed sense, as appeared evidently from the attempt which the Lower House of Convocation made some years ago, to join with the Bishops in promoting a closer correspondence between the two Churches[32].

Lord-Treasurer Harley lent his aid to the same work. Raby kept up constant communications respecting it with Jablonski and Baron Printz, President of the Council of ecclesiastical affairs at Berlin; and M. Bonet, the Prussian minister at London, wrote to St. John, expressing, in the strongest terms, his admiration of the Church of England, his desire to see a conformity between her and the Prussian Churches effected, and his belief that such a measure would be received with the greatest joy among his countrymen[32]. Political circumstances, occurring soon afterwards, put a stop to the happy

Failure of the design.

[32] Archbp. Sharp's Life, i. 424. The rest of the information upon the same subject, given above, is taken from the same work, i. 401—439, and Appendix in Vol. ii.

issue which might have been looked for from the combination of all these various influences; and the union which the Archbishop and Jablonski had thus earnestly striven to attain, was suddenly, and as it now appears, indefinitely, postponed.

Archbishop Sharp's proceedings with respect to Hanover.

Concurrently with these efforts, Archbishop Sharp strove also to introduce the Liturgy of the Church of England at the Court of Hanover, and to effect the appointment of a Chaplain to the Electress Sophia. In this, as in the other negotiations, he received the ready aid of Ayerst (now Chaplain to Raby at the Hague), of Jablonski at Berlin, and of Leibnitz at Hanover. The recent union by marriage between the Courts of Prussia and Hanover, naturally led those subjects of Prussia, who desired to see the Ritual of the Church of England introduced among themselves, to believe that the example of Hanover would greatly facilitate the attainment of that object; and hence their zeal in forwarding the design. With the Archbishop, doubtless, another reason weighed yet more strongly; and that was the relation, which, by virtue of the Act of Settlement, the Electress of Hanover now bore to the English Crown [34].

Several of the Sermons of Sharp, to which few can be found superior in our own or any other language, had been, in former years, commended to the favourable notice of Her Highness, and a friendly correspondence followed, which, beginning in 1702, was maintained for several years. This circumstance probably encouraged Sharp the more willingly to do what he could towards strengthening the bonds of spiritual

[34] Ib. i. 440—447.

communion with those who were so soon likely to be called to preside over the counsels of England. But the same political obstacles which defeated the Prussian scheme, impeded also, for a time, the completion of this; and, when they were removed, the good Archbishop had no longer any strength to renew his work. He lived long enough, indeed, to hear that the Prussian Monarch, before his death, in February, 1712-13, had consented to establish a foundation for maintaining students in Divinity in the English Universities; and that his successor had confirmed the intention of his father. But the prospect of union between the Churches thus reopened, was overcast by the coming shadows of the grave; and, before the end of another year, Archbishop Sharp had departed to his rest. In piety, candour, largeness of heart, learning, and unwearied diligence, he was a prelate surpassed by none of that, or any other, generation of the Church. The spirit in which he strove to unite, by the bonds of a closer brotherhood, the Reformed Churches of Europe,—abortive though his efforts appeared to be,—was the spirit which animated many others at home and abroad. We have seen it expressed in the recorded prayer of Convocation; and acknowledged by the Sovereign and her ministers. We shall now see that it was avowed and acted upon, from the outset, by those two great Societies, which have been the chief almoners of the free-will offerings of the Church of England, and the agents through which she has ministered to the spiritual wants of her people, at home and abroad, throughout a century and a half.

The death of Archbishop Sharp.

To the institution and early progress of these Societies, I now invite the attention of the reader.

CHAPTER XX.

THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE. ITS INSTITUTION AND EARLY PROGRESS.

A.D. 1698—1713.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

THE first notice of the two great Societies, of whose institution and early progress I am about to give an account, arose out of the history of the services of Dr. Bray, their chief founder and promoter[1]. In accordance with the promise there given, I shall now attempt to describe more fully the course of their proceedings. I begin with the elder of the two, which, for the first ten years of its existence, was called 'The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge.' By a resolution of the 5th of May, 1709, the change was made to its present title, which it has ever since retained, 'The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.'

The earliest record of its proceedings bears date, March 8, 1698-9, when five persons were present; Francis, the second Lord Guildford, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Dr. Bray, Mr. Justice (or, as he is afterwards called, Serjeant) Hook, and Colonel Maynard

[1] See pp. 408—411, *ante*.

Colchester. A few days afterwards Hook was appointed Treasurer[2]. The place of meeting is not formally mentioned in any of the Minutes. But a resolution of the following March, giving a gratuity to Hook's servants for their attendance during the first year, which had then ended, indicates that the meetings were held in his chambers, probably in Gray's Inn, of which Society he was a member[3].

Its three objects.

The objects of the Society were declared to be three; (1.) The education of the poor; (2.) The care of our Colonies; (3.) The printing and circulating books of sound Christian doctrine.

First—the education of the poor.

The attention due to the first of these is testified at the first Meeting. Colchester and Bray were then instructed to consider how 'the good design of erecting Catecheticall Schools in each Parish in and about London' might be promoted; and Lord Guildford was charged to speak to Archbishop Tenison, to obtain the insertion of a clause, for instructing the children in the Church Catechism, in a Bill then in progress for employing the poor.

Previous efforts of the Church of England in aid of the first object.

In making the education of the poor their primary work, these faithful men did but create and exercise another instrument, in addition to the many which the Church of England had employed towards the same end, ever

[2] I know not why he was called Mr. Justice Hook, as I cannot find his name among the Judges of any of our Courts in that day. The name of John Hook occurs in the list of the Serjeants-at-Law, made Oct. 1, 1700. And since, after that date, the Minutes of the Society describe Hook by no other title than that of Serjeant, he must then have received the degree of the coif.

[3] Hook's coat of arms is still preserved in the north window of Gray's Inn Hall.

since the Reformation. The sixteen yet flourishing Grammar Schools, which, under the counsel of Cranmer and Ridley, were founded in the short reign of Edward,—the like foundations, made by the Crown and by private individuals, in the reigns of Elizabeth and her successors,—Westminster, Harrow, Rugby, the Charterhouse, Shrewsbury, Birmingham,—most of the endowed schools of our market towns and Cathedral cities,—are all witnesses of this fact. The smaller Parishes of our towns and country villages are not without like testimony. In Horsham, a school for the gratuitous education of poor children was established as early as 1532. The Clothworkers' Company received, in 1559, a gift of land from Lady Pakington, for the benefit of the poor children of St. Dunstan's. Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Whitgift both founded schools in Canterbury. Even during the troubled reign of Charles I., in 1633, St. Margaret's Hospital and the Green Coat School, Westminster, were erected by the voluntary association of individuals, and established by Royal Charter. The new foundations of Cathedral Chapters were distinguished by statutes of great stringency, enjoining the prosecution of like works. Soon after the Restoration, Wales had the praise of seeing the first extensive systematic effort made by pious individuals for the education of poor children within the Principality. Some of our most distinguished Clergy, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Fowler, Wilkins, Whichcote, gave their assistance towards it; and others, whom the strifes of that day had separated from her ministry, Gouge (the founder of the scheme), and Baxter, and Poole. Mr. Firmin also, a merchant of London, who had long devoted himself to a similar work in the

City, was another of its supporters. Tillotson, in his Funeral Sermon upon Gouge, 1681, mentions this fact of Firmin[4], and describes the character and progress of the good work carried on in Wales, under the direction of Gouge[5]. It was, therefore, no new scheme, but the expansion of one long familiar to the minds of English Churchmen, which the members of the infant Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge proposed to themselves at their first meeting.

The second object, the care of our Colonies.

Their second object, the care of our Colonies, was not less distinctly avowed by them at the same meeting; for a formal request was made to Dr. Bray that he would lay before the Society 'his scheme of promoting religion in the Plantations, and his accompts of benefactions and disbursements towards the same.'

The third object, the printing and circulating books of sound doctrine.

Steps were likewise taken, a few days afterwards, for the attainment of the third object proposed, by opening a subscription among the members to defray the expense of Keith's Larger and Lesser Catechism.

Declarations of its members.

In the oldest manuscript book belonging to the Society, and the guidance of which, where other authorities are not mentioned, is my authority for the account I here give, I find three different declarations, bearing upon one or other of the three different objects specified above,

[4] Tillotson's Works, iii. 466, fol. ed. Of Tillotson's earnest desire to promote the work of Christian Education, and of his belief that such was the everlasting obligation of the Church, abundant evidences are to be found in his Sermons. See especially the two on Prov. xx. 6, in Vol. iii.

[5] I am indebted for the above Summary to Sir Thomas Phillips's valuable work on the Social Condition, &c. of Wales, 247—260.

and signed by its earliest members. The first runs thus:

> Whereas the growth of Vice and Immorality is greatly owing to Gross Ignorance of the Principles of the Christian Religion, We whose Names are underwritten, do agree to meet together, as often as we can conveniently, to consult (under the Divine Providence and Assistance) how we may be able by due and Lawful Methods to promote Christian Knowledge.

Signed by Seven Bishops.

Eighty-seven signatures are attached to this Declaration, among which, in addition to the original members, are those of Bishops Kidder of Bath and Wells, Fowler of Gloucester, King of Chichester, Lloyd of Worcester, Strafford of Chester, Wilson of Sodor and Man, and Patrick of Ely. Of the Clergy associated with them in the same list, I notice Sir George Wheler, Prebendary of Durham, and Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, who had gained for himself no little reputation in that day by the proficiency which his extensive travels had enabled him to make in ecclesiastical and antiquarian lore; and who wrought afterwards a still nobler work in the readiness with which he turned away from the splendours of a Court, to serve as a minister of the Church of Christ[6]. The name of Wheler still lives in the Chapel which he built on his estate in Spital-Fields.

By several Clergymen, among whom were Sir G. Wheler.

Dean Willis.

Next to him follows the name of Willis, Dean of Lincoln, who afterwards became in succession Bishop of Gloucester, Salisbury, and Winchester. He was the first Preacher before this Society, at the Yearly Meeting of the Charity Schools

[6] See his Epitaph in the Appendix to Archbp. Sharp's Life, ii. 306.

in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, and discharged the same office at the first Anniversary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Kennett.

After him appears White Kennett, who, a few years later, became Dean, and then Bishop, of Peterborough; and of whom more remains to be said in connexion with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Stubs.

Another of the prominent supporters of that Society, found also in the ranks of the present, was Philip Stubs, incumbent of the Parish of St. Alphage, in the City, and afterwards Archdeacon of St. Alban's. He is described by Steele, in the Spectator, (No. 147,) as remarkable for the appropriate and emphatic manner in which he was accustomed to read the prayers of the Church; and this manner, it is evident from other sources of information, was but the index of the devout and patient spirit that dwelt within him.

Manningham.

In immediate association with these occurs the name of Dr. Manningham, Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and afterwards Dean of Windsor, and Bishop of Chichester.

Gibson.

The last Clergyman, whose name I may single out from the many who signed this Declaration, as the most distinguished of them all, is Edmund Gibson, the learned author of the *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and then of London. I shall have occasion to note hereafter the great value of his labours in behalf of the Church, both Domestic and Colonial; and it is interesting to observe such a man identified with the first foundation of a Society, which has ministered so directly and efficiently to the wants of both.

And by several Laymen.

It would be unjust to omit the notice of those faithful Lay-members of the Church, who were found united in the present work with her ordained ministers. We have already seen that four out of the five present at the first meeting were Laymen; the first, whose rank was with the nobles of the land; the second, exhibiting in his name and character, as a distinguished lawyer, and an English gentleman of an ancient lineage, the same high and sterling qualities which have been reflected in his descendants; the third, also eminent in the learned and honourable profession of the law; and the fourth, a soldier. The list which we are now reviewing exhibits fresh coadjutors drawn from these and other different classes of society. Foremost among them ranks Robert Nelson, whose name will be held in grateful memory by the Church of England, as long as her solemn services of Fast and Festival shall remain to tell the worshipper the value of his faithful guidance. Other claims too has Nelson upon our regard in the singular purity and consistency of his life, the largeness of his liberality, the diligence with which he cultivated each gift and grace bestowed upon him, and the simplicity with which he devoted all to the welfare of man and the glory of God. He stands the foremost of his generation; guiding it not less powerfully by the wisdom of his teaching, than by the persuasive force of his example, and exhibiting the most perfect portraiture of the Christian gentleman. Nor is this the least of the many valuable lessons which Nelson has taught, namely, that it is possible for men to differ widely, and yet charitably; and that, differing thus charitably, they shall be endued with a power strong enough to

Robert Nelson.

heal the most painful wounds which discord can inflict. Nelson, for instance, felt it to be his duty to cast in his lot with those resolute and holy men of God who, at the time of the Revolution, believing that they could not lawfully transfer to one Sovereign the allegiance which they had already sworn to maintain to another, were content to be deprived of all temporal preferments rather than do violence to their conscientious conviction. And yet, whilst he thus sympathized, thus acted, with Sancroft, and Ken, and Kettlewell, and others, whose piety and unflinching stedfastness must for ever shed a lustre upon the name of Non-juror, he could hold out the hand of fellowship to many who differed from them, and thereby was saved from any share in producing the further evils which followed this unhappy schism. His friendship in early years with Tillotson constrained Nelson to open his mind to that prelate, when he was about to return to England, and before he had yet finally declared himself on the side of the Non-jurors. And, considering that Tillotson was then in possession of the very post of Primate, from which Sancroft had been thrust out, it might have been thought impossible that Nelson, who soon declared publicly his belief in the rectitude of Sancroft's judgment, should have continued to hold intercourse with one whom he must have regarded as the usurper of Sancroft's office. But Nelson did not assume any hostile position. On the contrary, his friendship with Tillotson still survived; and, when the strength of the Archbishop began to fail, and the shadows of his coming departure were at hand, Nelson repaired to his chamber of sickness; waited upon him with tenderness and affectionate solicitude; joined with him in his last acts of

prayer and praise; and folded him in his arms, as life departed.

The enrolment of Nelson's name among those of the earliest members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, is another evidence of the anxiety with which, amid all the painfulness of a forced and partial separation from the Church of his Baptism, he still strove to find, where he could, points of co-operation with her. Ten years had intervened between the commencement of the Non-juring schism and the establishment of this Society. Ten years more passed away before the death of Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, the last of the deprived Bishops who claimed to exercise his office[7], left Nelson at liberty to make that perfect reunion with the Church for which he had so long been anxious, and which Sharp, Archbishop of York, was the happy instrument to effect[8]. Nevertheless, Nelson rejoiced to strengthen the hands of the Church wheresoever he could, during that long interval. He was admitted into membership with the Society within little more than three months after its institution, June 22, 1699; and, from

[7] Bishop Ken still survived, but had resigned the claim to his See of Bath and Wells.

[8] Archbp. Sharp thus writes in his Diary, Jan. 27, 1709, 'I fell upon a discourse with Mr. Nelson, about his continuing in the schism now after the Bishop of Norwich is dead. He tells me that he is not without doubt, but he will further consider the matter; and when he comes to a resolution, after enquiry how matters stand, he will persist in it.' Again, after noticing several other visits from Nelson, he writes, on the 9th of April, 'being Easter-day, I preached at St. Mildred's, Poultry, and administered the Sacrament, where was present Mr. Nelson, which was the first time that he had communicated in the Sacrament since the Revolution.' Archbp. Sharp's Life, ii. 32.

that time forward, bore a prominent part in its proceedings. The appointment of Humphrey Wanley, in 1701, as successor to John Chamberlayne, its first Secretary, was mainly owing to Nelson's influence; and his long and varied correspondence, still extant, with Wanley, witnesses the sincere and active interest which Nelson took in all that concerned the duties of that office. Upon these particulars there is no room to dwell in this place; and I would refer the reader, who desires to learn more respecting them, to the third chapter of Teale's Life of Nelson. Of Nelson himself I will only add, that, although the terms of sepulchral eulogy are oftentimes extravagant and undeserved, it would be difficult to find, in those noble lines which Bishop Smalridge has inscribed upon his tomb, a single expression, of which the meaning was not fully exemplified and sustained in the person of him whose character they describe. We hold it to be the eternal honour of our Church and Nation, that we can call such a man our own.

William Melmoth.

Only second to Robert Nelson, in the ranks of the Lay-members of our Church at this period, stands William Melmoth, author of the well-known and valuable treatise, 'The Great Importance of a Religious Life Considered;' a treatise, which carries with it its own evidence, that it is the full and just expression of a mind imbued with the richest graces of the truth which it seeks to delineate. This evidence will be found abundantly confirmed in the memoir of its author, which his accomplished son, the translator of Pliny's Letters, has given to the world. Few men attained to greater eminence in their profession than the elder Melmoth; and his admission as a member of the Society for Promoting Christian

Knowledge took place June 1, 1699, when he had already been six years called to the bar, and was rapidly acquiring the highest reputation[9]. He had been admitted a member of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, a few weeks before, and lived long enough to be called to the Bench, and to become in due time its Treasurer. He died, and was buried, where he had lived and laboured; and the stone may still be seen over his grave, in the cloister beneath the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, on which are engraven his name, and office, and date of his death, April 6, 1743.

And other members of Lincoln's Inn.

The influence of Melmoth's character and his connexion with Lincoln's Inn, were the means, probably, of inducing others of its members to unite with him in the work now undertaken by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Minutes of the Committee bear frequent reference to the nomination and approval of men who are described as belonging to that Inn of Court; among whom Mr. Brewster and Mr. Comyns were the most diligent in their attendance.

Also by members of other learned professions.

From the ranks also of other learned professions fresh aid was drawn in furtherance of the same work. The names of Dr. Slare, for instance, a distinguished chemist in that day, and of Harvey, and Sir Richard Blackmore, physicians, are attached to the same Declaration.

And by others, whose

Others appear also in the same list, of whom some were independent English gen-

[9] See p. 21 of a new edition of Melmoth's Treatise by C. Purton Cooper, Esq., Q. C., and Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. The value of this edition is greatly enhanced by its many interesting notes and appendices.

tlemen, devoting then, as many more do now, a large portion of their time and fortune to the promotion of the cause of the Church of Christ; and others, upholding by their integrity and zeal the noble qualities which are inseparable from the character of the English merchant. In many instances, the names still borne by their lineal or collateral descendants may be distinctly recognised. Sir Edmund Turner of Lincolnshire, Sir John Philipps of Pembrokeshire[10], Rowland Cotton, Robert Holford, William Farrar, Henry Hoare, John Kyrle Ernle, Ralph Palmer, John Trollope, Thomas Wentworth; these are the honoured names which arrest my attention, as I run over the list of signatures attached to this important Declaration; which connect the past generations with the present, and bid all who have inherited the property or the name, emulate also the example, of their fathers.

names are still to be held in honour.

[10] Many evidences of the zeal of this gentleman in behalf of the Society's operations appear upon its Minutes, and the following resolution, Dec. 21, 1699, bears a remarkable testimony to his own character, and to that of his fellow-workers in the same cause, 'Resolved, that the thanks of this Society be given to Sir John Philipps for the noble and Christian example he has shown in refusing a challenge after the highest provocation imaginable; and that the Lord Guildford be pleased to acquaint him therewith.'

Southey relates, in his Life of Wesley, i. 141, that Sir John Philipps gave an annuity to Whitefield, during the residence of the latter at Oxford, which was accepted by Bishop Benson as a sufficient title for orders. A monument, erected to the memory of Philipps by his three sons, may still be seen in St. Mary's Church, Haverfordwest. It records the fact of his having represented the county of Pembroke in several Parliaments, and having been one of the most active Commissioners for building the fifty new Churches in London and Westminster in the reign of Anne. He was the great grandfather of the present Lord Milford, by the female side.

Declaration of the Society touching the Plantations.

Another Declaration, bearing upon the second of the Society's designs, is contained in the same manuscript book to the following effect:

We, whose names are underwritten, do look upon the fixing Parochial Libraries throughout the Plantations, (especially on the Continent of North America, where the provision for the Clergy, we understand, is but mean,) as a design which will very much tend to propagate Christian knowledge in the Indies, being it will in all likelihood be a means always to invite the more studious and virtuous persons out of the Universities, and elsewhere, to undertake the ministry in those parts; and will be also a necessary means of rendering them usefull in all the parts of their function, by doctrine, by reproof, by correction, by instruction in righteousness, when they are there. And therefore, as we ourselves do subscribe and contribute chearfully towards the further advance of these Parochial Libraries, so we shall make it our endeavour to obtain benefactions, from our friends and acquaintances respectively, towards the same Christian purposes.

Benefactions of its Members.

To this document are attached the same signatures, with the addition of the sums subscribed by each member; which, if they be compared with the altered value of money in the present day, will be found to be of much larger amount than those ordinarily contributed for like purposes by the men of this generation. Lord Guildford, for instance, subscribes for himself and friends £100; Sir Edmund Turner £15; Robert Nelson £20; the Bishop of Worcester £10; Colonel Colchester £8; Rowland Cotton £15; and so on. Upon the delegation of the specific duty here contemplated, a short time afterwards, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, most of the same parties transferred their contributions under this head to the other purposes of their own Society. In fact,

benefactions and annual subscriptions were from the outset given and continued in aid of each separate department of the Society's operations, as appears from the following Declaration, dated Dec. 7, 1699:

Declaration touching Education.

We, whose names are underwritten, do subscribe to pay annually, by quarterly payments, the several sums to our several names annexed, for promoting Christian knowledge, as by erecting Catechetical Schools, by raising Lending Catechetical Libraries in the several Market Towns in this Kingdom; by distributing good books, or otherwise, as the Society shall direct; the first payment to be made at the ensuing quarter day.

With very few exceptions, the same names are to be found in the present list as in the former; and sums, varying from twenty pounds to two, are annexed to each. Bray's contribution is of a mixed character, and thus described:

I, Thomas Bray, do subscribe five pounds, with the Short Discourses on the Baptismal Covenant, to be deliver'd to such Youth in the Schools as the Society shall think fitt.

Some years afterwards I find a pecuniary contribution given under this head of smaller amount than any before named; but it is explained by the accompanying statement:

30 Oct. 1707. I, Will. Whitfield, by reason that I maintain a Charity School at my own proper charge, do subscribe at present only twenty shillings.

The means thus designed with reference to the several objects which the Society proposed to itself were promptly and diligently employed. Meetings were held at first every week; sometimes every day; and there were hardly any at which some cheering report of progress was not made. The number of

members increased, notwithstanding the rule which made it imperative that enquiry should, in the first instance, be made respecting every one whose name was proposed; and that the proposal should then be submitted to two separate meetings, before his election could be finally approved [11].

Their proceedings with respect to it.

Within four days of the first meeting of the five original members, the Archbishop of Canterbury's readiness to co-operate with them was reported by Lord Guildford, who had been requested to communicate with his Grace touching the plan which they had already marked out for the education of poor children. Sharp, Archbishop of York, must also have signified his sentiments to the same effect; for the Minutes of Aug. 8, 1700, state that Nelson was desired by the Society to return its thanks to his Grace for the encouragement afforded by him. No sooner was the report from Archbishop Tenison received, than forthwith the resolution followed:

That Col. Colchester be desired to find out three persons to begin an endeavour of setting up Schools in three Parishes.

German Teachers from Halle.

It was soon discovered, that the miserable distractions of England in the preceding century, had left her but scantily furnished with means of remedying the evils which had ensued; and that readier assistance might be ob-

[11] During the early years of the Society, all its members were thus elected. There was no exception, not even in the case of Bishops. The rule is now altered; so that members of the Royal Family, Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, and Bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church, are admitted, upon signifying their desire to become members.

tained from other countries, where the machinery of instruction had been working, throughout the same period, without impediment. I have already touched upon this point, as explaining the character of some of those relations which the Church of England established with various Protestant congregations in the continent of Europe [12]. We now meet with a remarkable illustration of the truth of the remark there made. Before the Society was two months old, a resolution was passed, requesting the attendance of two Germans, whom Francke, the celebrated Professor of Divinity at Halle, in Saxony, had sent over, a short time before, from that University, for the purpose of establishing Catechetical Schools in England. They attended accordingly; and the conferences that followed between them and the Committee not only materially affected the specific work of education then in hand, but led also to the establishment of other important relations between England and the chief Protestant countries of Europe, which speedily introduced some of the most pious and devoted men of those countries into the ranks of our own Schoolmasters and Missionaries abroad.

Increase of Schools.

Meanwhile, the work, to which an impulse had been thus given, went bravely on; and, on the 30th of November, 1699, it was reported that Schools had been set up in Wapping, Whitechapel, Poplar, St. Martin's, Cripplegate, Shadwell, Shoreditch, St. Margaret's Westminster, Tothill-Fields, Aldgate, Bishop's Gate, St. George's, Southwark. Of these, the Schools at Westminster [13], Aldgate, and Wapping, were erected before the founda-

[12] See p. 539, *ante*.

[13] See p. 552, *ante*.

tion of the Society; but the establishment of the rest had been owing solely to the exertions now made by its earliest members. The Bishop of London (Compton) wrote to the Committee, the week after the reception of this Report, promising to direct the Clergy and Schoolmasters of the different Parishes mentioned therein, that they should observe the duty of catechising the children so entrusted to them. The above Report was but the harbinger of others which continued, in quick succession, to prove how widely and deeply the heart of the English Church was stirred by the appeal now addressed to it. At well-nigh every weekly meeting of the Society, some evidence or other was received of fresh Schools opened or in progress. The diligence and activity of the Schoolmasters, the vigilant superintendence of the Clergy, the clearness with which already might be discerned the benefits springing out of the culture thus bestowed upon the youthful heart, and the generous zeal with which men gave of their worldly substance to speed on the work, are all testified in the Minutes of the Society. I here subjoin two of the earliest proofs which illustrate the last of these facts:

Valuable support given to them.

14 Nov. 1700. Mr. Shute reports that there is a thousand pounds given towards a Charity School in White Chappel.

Again:

2 Dec. 1700. Mr. Bridges reports that there was near £80 collected at the doors of St. James's Church, yesterday, for the use of the Charity Schools.

These were no solitary or transient efforts. In the first published proceedings of the Society in 1704, 54 schools are reported to have been set up in Lon-

don and Westminster and within ten miles thereof, and 30 in other parts of the kingdom. In 1706, the former are 64; the latter 140. In 1717, the former are 124; the latter 1157. In 1721, the former are 130; the latter 1506, including 148 in Ireland; and the whole number of children then under education, in all the above schools, amounted to 30,539.

In reviewing such facts, let it be borne in mind that we are now living at an interval of more than a hundred and fifty years since the earliest of them were recorded; and that we are furnished, more abundantly than were our fathers, with the means of spreading abroad the knowledge of Christian truth upon the hearts of the people. If, therefore, we have taught ourselves to look upon the 18th century, as an age of uniform coldness and indifference, and believe that the actual workings of zeal and wisdom are only to be discerned in our own day, we may find, in the evidence here placed before us, grave reason to doubt whether, after all, the balance be in our favour.

Efforts of the Society to improve the condition of prisoners.

Another most important matter was also brought under the notice of the Society, in its earliest years, by Bishop Compton, relating to the improvement of prisoners. It thus appears in the Minutes of January 25, $1\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{0}\frac{9}{0}$.

> The Dean [of Chichester] reports that the Bishop of London recommended to this Society to consider of some means for the better instructing and regulating the manners of the poor prisoners in the severall prisons of this city.

In pursuance of this recommendation, it was resolved, a few days afterwards, to apply to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs upon the subject; and Mr. Shute, a member of the Society, was desired to confer with the

Ordinaries of Newgate and Ludgate, and consider the best methods to be pursued. Before the end of the next February, several proposals, arising out of these conferences, were laid before the Society and examined; and, having been soon afterwards embodied by Mr. Shute in a 'Scheme for Regulating the Abuses of Prisons,' were referred to the consideration of the Dean of Chichester, and by him laid before the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, who promised to take the same into consideration. This effort of the Society naturally brought it into closer correspondence with the other Religious Societies, already established in London, for the 'Reformation of Manners;' and Dr. Woodward, Minister of Poplar, and the historian of those Societies [14], became a willing and efficient instrument to maintain that correspondence. Some months elapsed before the desired permission was given by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs to visit the City prisons. But at length it came. On the 12th of January, 1701-2, a Committee was appointed to examine the apartments of the prisoners in Newgate; and those members of the Society, who were also Members of Parliament, were requested to attend the next meeting, at which the Report of the Committee was to be received. The Report set forth the miserable condition in which they had found the prisoners in Newgate, and stated that 'they had thought fitt to distribute some moneys amongst them, as also the servants.' These moneys were then ordered to be repaid. A further sum was likewise provided to meet the expenses of future visits of the Committee; and books and papers for distribution among the prisoners were also placed at their

[14] See the extract I have made from the work, p. 363, *ante*.

disposal. The Committee resumed their labours with great activity; and repeatedly visited Newgate, the Marshalsea, and Whitechapel prison. Lorraine, the Ordinary of Newgate, was made a Corresponding Member of the Society; and the Committee, after proceeding for some time in their benevolent enterprise, were instructed to draw up another Report, which should contain a full account of the evil practices then prevalent in prisons, and of the methods by which it was proposed to remedy them.

Bray's Report thereon.

This Report, drawn up by Dr. Bray, one of the Committee, and adopted by the Society, and pressed upon the especial notice of those of its members who had seats in Parliament, still remains among the Society's archives, as a witness of the patience, and care, and wisdom, with which the great question of an efficient and salutary prison discipline was investigated by these, its earliest promoters[15]. There can be little doubt that the work, delegated, more than twenty-five years afterwards, to a Committee of the House of Commons upon this subject, of which General Oglethorpe was Chairman, and to which Thomson refers in such touching terms in his poem of Winter, was prompted by the efforts to which I have just referred. The whole civilised world also has borne its testimony to the astonishing perseverance and success with which the same work was resumed, after the lapse of another interval of nearly fifty years, by the immortal Howard. But let not the halo of glory which encircles that illustrious man blind us, by its dazzling brightness, to the exertions of others who preceded

[15] This document is given at length in Hepworth Dixon's Life of Howard, pp. 10, &c.

him. Rather let us gratefully record, and keep in memory the fact here established, that, many years before the birth of Howard, or his yet more celebrated eulogist, men rose up in our land, who sought 'to dive into the depths of dungeons; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten; to attend to the neglected; to visit the forsaken [16];'—and that these were the sainted sons of the Church of England who founded her most ancient Society.

Efforts of the Society in behalf of sailors and soldiers.

And not in such quarters only may we track the course of their pious benevolence. Our fleets and armies bore further witness to the loving zeal with which they sought to curb the wildness of the dissolute, and quicken the faith of the stedfast and obedient. In the prosecution of these efforts, the Society received hearty encouragement and support from the gallant commanders of our forces both on sea and land. Frequent notices occur in their Minutes of communications upon this subject from Admirals Benbow and Sir George Rooke; and Mr. Hodges, Chaplain-General to the Fleet, was appointed, July 7, 1701, a Corresponding Member, for the purpose of facilitating the important work. A few months afterwards, books were sent to the Duke, then Earl, of Marlborough, for the use of his army; and others were forwarded for the same purpose to the Lord Cutts by Colonel Dudley. Another supply also was placed under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Thorold, at Rotterdam, for distribution; and a smaller number was placed, by

[16] Burke's Speech at Bristol. Works, iii. 380.

the direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Lord Lucas, for the benefit of the troops in the Tower.

Its foreign operations.

In the midst of its home operations, the Society remembered the duties which had been proposed from the beginning by Dr. Bray, with reference to our Plantations abroad, and, at the same time, multiplied and strengthened the bonds of friendly relationship with many of the Protestant teachers of the Continent. Thus, on the 7th of September, 1699, Bray reports a proposal from Sir Richard Bulkeley, in Ireland, to settle £20 for ever for the extension of Christianity in America. A few weeks afterwards, Nelson brings a letter from Lord Weymouth, offering to give £200 towards the same object[17]. After the lapse of a few months more, communications are received from Mr. Benett, Minister of Port Royal in Jamaica, and Commissary of the Bishop of London. These are followed by others from Mr. Tod, Minister of St. Thomas in the Vale, in the same Island, and by certain resolutions passed by its Clergy, expressive of their readiness to co-operate with the Society; and channels of communication are forthwith opened by the appointment of Mr. Tod and Sir William Beeston, Governor of the Island, to be Corresponding Members. Mr. Barklay also is appointed, during the same period, corresponding member for Africa and the West Indies; and a valuable paper appears to have been drawn up by him, and adopted by

Jamaica.

[17] Several instances also occurred afterwards in which Lord Weymouth sent assistance towards the general home purposes of the Society by the hands of Nelson; all proving what I have before said of this nobleman at p. 521, *ante*.

the Society, with reference to the best means to be pursued in the progress of the work.

Barbados.

In Barbados, Mr. Edward Willey is appointed Lay correspondent with the Society; and communications also pass with the Attorney-General for the Island, upon the subject of a certain sum of money, which had been left some years before for a charitable object, and was not yet appropriated.

Virginia.

Virginia, in the person of her Governor, Nicholson, claims also the attention of the Society, and a resolution is passed, August 15, 1700, acknowledging 'his great services in the propagating Christian knowledge in the Plantation,' and appointing him 'a correspondent for the province.' The excellencies, as well as the defects, of Nicholson's character have already been presented to the reader's notice[18]; and, since it is probable that the zeal and generosity so long manifested by him in promoting the interests of the Colonial Church were likely to be better known by the majority of his countrymen at home, than those defects of temper which made him obnoxious to the jealousy of the people whom he had to govern in a distant province, it was to be expected that the Society would avail themselves of the earliest opportunity to express their sense of his valuable services. Three months afterwards, its members prepared, upon the suggestion of Dr. Woodward, some religious small tracts, in the French language, for distribution among the Huguenot refugees who were still seeking an asylum in Virginia; and thus renewed, to that persecuted race, in their continued hour of need, the same offices of sympathy and kindness, which had now been,

[18] See p. 403, *ante*.

for many years, freely and generously extended by the Church and people of England.

Maryland. New York. New England.

The members agree, also, to support the work which Bray had already begun in Maryland[19], by fresh supplies of books. In New York, the like object is promoted by the appointment of Mr. Neau, as their lay correspondent; and in New England, the Governor, Richard, Earl of Bellamont, consents to undertake the same office.

Newfoundland.

Nor was poor Newfoundland, so long forgotten and forsaken, altogether lost sight of in those days[20]. Mr. Jackson was appointed Missionary to the Island; and, on the 24th of March, $170\frac{0}{1}$,—upon the report of Dr. Bray, that subscriptions to the Plantations then amounted to £600 a year,—it was resolved to deliver to Jackson a supply of books and tracts, of which the particulars are recorded in the Minutes; and, at the next meeting, a further sum was ordered to be laid out in Bibles and Prayer Books, which he was to take out with him. Another report was made by Bray, at the last of the meetings above mentioned, from which it appeared, that, in the seven bays of the Island then belonging to the English, there were 7000 inhabitants, and in summer about 17,000, who had not 'yet had any minister, or minis-

[19] See p. 412, *ante*. One great source of relief to the Huguenot refugees, was furnished by the briefs, issued under royal authority, for collecting money throughout the churches of England. A well-known story, relating to it, is told of Beveridge, when he was Prebendary of Canterbury, that he objected to the reading of one of these briefs in the Cathedral, as contrary to the rubric; and that Tillotson, then Dean, answered his objection by saying, 'Doctor, doctor, charity is above rubrics.' Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 130.

[20] For the former treatment of Newfoundland, see Vol. i. 329—335.

terial offices performed amongst them.' St. John's Fort was then fixed upon as the chief scene of Jackson's labours; but he was 'desired to visit the six other bays, and to appoint a reader to celebrate Divine Service, in each of them.'

English captives in Ceylon.

There was no quarter of the world, however distant, from which, if good could be done to our countrymen abiding there, the Society withheld its sympathy and aid. A memorable instance of this fact is found in its proceedings, October 31, 1700, when Dr. Woodward read a letter relating to some English captives in Ceylon, and it was resolved forthwith to send to them such books as were likely to be of service.

Its foreign operations delegated to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in 1701.

But, with so much business pressing upon their minds at home, it was obvious that the members of the present Society could not long maintain, with only the machinery now at their disposal, any adequate supervision of like duties abroad. As soon as Bray therefore returned from Maryland, whither he had gone upon the enterprise before described, he did what was welcome to all parties, by proposing the establishment of a new and separate Society, whose avowed office should be that of propagating the Gospel throughout the foreign possessions of the British empire.

The attention of Convocation turned to the same work.

It is important however to observe that the means of discharging this duty already occupied the attention of Convocation; and that a Committee of the Lower House had been appointed, March 13, 1700, and had sat several times at St. Paul's, for the express purpose of organising them. Upon learning that a Charter was

about to be granted by the Crown for the same work, the Committee desisted from further proceedings[21].

The application to William III. for a Charter,—thus supporting the movement of Convocation towards the same end,—was made by Archbishop Tenison, Bishop Compton, and Dr. Bray, and favourably received. On the 3rd of May, 1701, its draft was read and approved by the present Society; and, on the 9th of June, Bray reported that the Order for it had been signed by the King in Council, and that the Charter, constituting the new Society a body corporate, to be called The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was then passing through the proper offices. The Charter (duly signed and sealed, June 16) was presented and read, on the 23rd of the same month; and thanks were then 'returned to Bray for his great care and pains in procuring' it. A Committee of the present Society was, at the same time, appointed to wait upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, to thank him for his exertions in the same matter, and to learn the time and place which he might be pleased to appoint for the first meeting of the new Society. The Minutes of the 30th of June state, that, in answer to this application, the Corporation had met, by the Archbishop's direction, on the preceding Friday, the 27th, at Lambeth Palace[22]; and that its members had then chosen their officers.

The reader will here see how perfectly united in heart and spirit the two Societies were, even at the

[21] Warren's Synodalia, p. 462.

[22] Mr. Hawkins, in his valuable Historical Notices, &c., p. 20, states that Archbp. Tenison's Library was the first place of meeting. But, according to the above Minutes, it appears, without doubt, to have been Lambeth.

moment in which it was judged advisable that their organisation and action should be separate. The same men, in fact, who had thus far conducted the operations of the first, and been instrumental in establishing the second, still continued to be the prominent supporters of each. And so, I believe, it has been ever since. I am not aware, that, at any time, during the hundred and fifty years and more of their existence, any impediment has been cast in the way of their common duty through the working of a jealous or antagonistic feeling of the agents on either side. And, certainly, at the present day, the truth is patent to all, that the chief promoters of the one Society, are found working, with equal cheerfulness and zeal, in the ranks of the other.

Relations with the continent of Europe.

The relations with Germany which had sprung up in the first efforts of the present Society in the work of Christian education, extended themselves to other countries of Europe.

Professor Francke.

Augustus Herman Francke, of Halle, with whose agents the Society had conferred upon that occasion, was soon afterwards appointed its Corresponding member. Few men could have conferred greater honour upon the Society by their connexion with it, than this learned Professor, whose writings deserve to receive from the Biblical student, in every generation of the Church, the approval which they secured in his own. The noble Orphan House also, established and conducted by him, for many years, in his Parish of Glaucha, near Halle, is a monument of piety, and love, and wisdom, never to be forgotten [23].

[23] See the history of this Institution, translated into English, by Dr. Woodward, under the title of *Pietas Hallensis*.

On the 24th of October, 1700, a letter was read from Mr. Hales, the English Clergyman, of whom I have before spoken[24] as exhibiting, in the early part of that century, the deepest interest in the Protestant congregations of Europe. He was then visiting St. Gall, in Switzerland; and Scherer, Minister of St. Gall, was appointed, probably in consequence of this letter, Corresponding member for that district. Three months afterwards, Ostervald, the celebrated Pastor of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, was requested to undertake the like office. His religious works were among the earliest books which the Society placed upon its catalogue, and still remain among its most valued instruments of Christian guidance. On the 28th of April, 1701, the distinguished James Saurin was appointed Correspondent for Utrecht, and Turetin and Tronchin for Geneva. A letter, also, in French, addressed to the Dean and Pastors of Neufchatel, of which a translation was read to the meeting, was approved, and ordered to be sent; and another, ordered to be drawn up in Latin by Dr. Nicholls[25], the friend and correspondent of Jablonski, and sent to the Clergy of the Canton of Zurich.

Scherer.

Ostervald.

Saurin.

The correspondence thus begun was soon extended to other quarters; and, on the 14th of May, 1702, a Latin letter was laid before the Society, from Klingler, Antistes of Zurich, in the name of the Protestant Churches of Zurich, Berne, Basle, Schaffhausen, and other places in Switzerland.

Correspondence between the Protestant congregations of Europe, and the two Societies of the Church of England.

[24] See pp. 541. 544, *ante*.

[25] See p. 542, *ante*, where a remarkable extract is given from a Latin letter addressed by Jablonski to Nicholls, in 1708.

It was thought advisable that these and similar letters from Protestant congregations in Europe should be communicated to The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in case its members should think fit to correspond with them. The proposal was thankfully accepted; the ties of a friendly relationship were thereby soon formed; and many proofs of ready sympathy and assistance followed. The earliest reports of the latter Society exhibit among their foreign subscribers the names of Achenbach and Ancillon, and other Chaplains to the King of Prussia; of Bilberge, Bishop of Stregnetz in Sweden; of Jablonski, Ursinus, and Ostervald; of Basnage at the Hague; of Fabricius, Professor of Divinity at Leyden; of Behagel, a merchant at Frankfort; of Christoffers and other merchants at Amsterdam; of Coulez, Dean of the French ministers at Halle; of Lullin at Geneva, and of Lewis Saurin. And, among the MSS. of the same Society, still extant, are Latin letters from the Synods of St. Gall and of the Grisons, from Neufchatel, Geneva, and other places, all testifying the desire of the writers to draw together more closely the bonds of Christian brotherhood between the Church of England and themselves; and thereby to extend more widely and speedily the blessings of which they claimed to be partakers.

APPENDIX.

No. I. Page 276.

CHAPLAINS IN INDIA PRIOR TO THE UNION OF THE TWO COMPANIES.

Dates.	Names.	Elected Chaplains for
1667, Dec. 13,	Mr. Walter Hooke,	Fort St. George.
1668, Jan. 3,	Mr. William Thomson,	,,
1669, May 14,	Mr. Nathaniel Briggs,	Bantam.
,, Oct. 29,	Mr. William Richards,	India.
,, ,,	Mr. Martin,	,,
,, Nov. 19,	Mr. Thomas Bill,	,,
1671, Feb. 23,	Mr. John France,	Surat.
,, March 1,	Mr. Joseph Farnworth,	Bombay.
1672, Dec. 9,	Mr. Robert Lloyd,	,,
1675, Sept. 10,	Mr. Richard Portman [1],	Bengal.
,, Dec. 29,	Mr. Thomas Copping,	Bantam.
,, ,,	Mr. Wynn,	St. Helena.
1676, Dec. 22,	Mr. William Badgent,	Bengal.
1678, Oct. 30,	Mr. Joshua Richardson, [Declined the office.]	Surat.
1679, March 12,	Mr. Isaac Polewheele,	Bombay.

[1] Afterwards transferred to Madras. See p. 278, *ante*, and the documents quoted in Appendix, No. II.

Dates.	Names.	Elected Chaplains for
1693, May 26,	Mr. Thomas Tyrer,	Bombay.
	[Accompanied the Governor, Sir John Gayer.]	
,, Dec. 15,	Mr. John Ovington,	Surat.
1697, Dec. 31,	Mr. James Wendy,	Fort St. George.
1698, Jan. 21,	Mr. John Powell,	India.
	[But upon a representation from the Bishop of London, who had ascertained that Mr. Powell had been turned out of his benefice, in the Diocese of Norwich, directions were given for his being sent ashore.]	
,, March 7,	Mr. Thorold,	Surat.
,, Nov. 30,	Mr. Humphreys,	St. Helena.
1699, Nov. 22,	Mr. Benjamin Adams,	Bengal.
1700, Dec. 13,	Mr. Epiphanius Holland,	St. Helena.

No. II. Page 277, *note.*

THE documents, of which I have been favoured with copies made by Mr. Mahon, are five in number, viz. the 'Instructions for Speeding the Commission' issued in 1679 by Bishop Compton to Governor Master, authorising him to appoint the Rev. Richard Portman to the Church then erected at Madras. The first four set forth the oaths and subscriptions required to be taken and made upon all similar occasions, and need not therefore be here recited. Of the last, which is the 'Petition at the Dedication' of the Church, I subjoin a copy:

PETITION AT THE DEDICATION.

Sr,

Wee are come hither to the Dedication of this Building for a Church, and I am ordered in the name of the Right Worsp^{l} Streynsham Master Esq^{r}, Agent and Governour of this Towne and

Garrison, and in the Names of the other Gentlemen here underwritten and all the other contributors whether present or absent to represent unto you, that whereas this ffort St. George and Towne of Madrasspatam *alias* Chinapatnam, upon the coast of Chormandell in the East Indies, hath been near fourty years under the government of the English Nation, and wee have hitherto had noe Church for the publick Worsp of God, Wee have now erected one at our owne cost and charge with an intent and purpose that it may bee dedicated to the publick Worsp of Almighty God, and that his holy and blessed name might there bee honoured and called upon by all Christian Protestant people that are at present in or shall come hereafter unto this place, I therefore in the name of the said Streynsham Master Esqr, and in the names of all the other contributors, whether present or absent, do promise hereafter to refuse and renounce to put this Church or any part of it to any profane or common use whatsoever, and desire it may be dedicated and consecrated wholley and onely to relegious uses for the glory of God and the salvation of our Souls. In which respect wee doe humbly beseech God to accept of this our sincere intent and purpose, and doe unanimously desire you as God's Minister and by virtue of that power which you have now upon this occasion received from the Right Reverend ffather in God Henry Lord Bishop of London, to accept of this our ffree will offering, and do desire this Church to bee severed from all common and profane uses, and soe to severe it, as alsoe by the Word of God and prayer and other spiritual and religious dutyes to dedicate it to the sacred Name of God and to his service and Worsp onely, promiseing that wee will ever hold it as an holy place even as God's house, and use it accordingly, and that wee and our Successours in this place will from time to time and ever hereafter as need shall bee soe far as in us lyes, see it conveniently repaired and decently furnished in such sort as a Church ought to bee, and wee doe further promise for ourselves and our successours in this place, to use our utmost endeavours to procure allwayes from time to time a sufficient Clerke or Clerks being in the order of Presthood Licenced and authorized according to the Laws of England, to the end that hee or they may take upon them the cure of the said Church and duely say Divine Service in the same at times appoynted, and performe all other such offices and dutyes as by the Canons of our Church and ye Laws of the Kingdome of England every Minister is bound to doe; provided notwithstanding that for the future noe Corps may be

intered within the said Church or in the Church-yard adjoyning thereunto.

	Streynsham Master,
	G. W. Bridges,
	Timothy Wilkes,
Wm. Jearsey,	Richard Portman,
	Richd. Elliott,
Jno. Davis,	Jno. Wicks,
	Elihu Yale [1],
Tho. Lucas,	Vincent Sayon,
	James Bell,
	Ralph Ord,
	John Willcox,
	Richard Browne,
	James Wheeler,
	Timothy Harris.

[1] Afterwards Founder of Yale College in Connecticut. See Vol. iii. c. xxix. *in loc.*

END OF VOL. II.

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RULES

FOR THE

PRESERVATION OF DR. BRAY'S LENDING LIBRARIES

In the Colonies.

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1. The Bishop of the diocese shall be requested to act as Visitor of the Library.
2. Three or more clergymen shall be appointed trustees to take charge of the books.
3. On the death, removal from the neighbourhood, or resignation of any trustee, the remaining trustees shall appoint a successor, to be approved by the Bishop, from among the neighbouring Clergy, and inform the Associates of the appointment; or in the event of their neglecting to make such appointment within three months after the occurrence of a vacancy, the Bishop may appoint a successor.
4. The trustees shall appoint a librarian, and furnish him from time to time with the names of the clergymen entitled to the use of the Library.
5. The librarian, on his appointment, shall make three catalogues of the books, which shall be signed by the trustees. One copy shall be sent to the Associates' secretary in London *, one to the Bishop of the diocese, and the third shall be kept with the books.
6. The librarian shall, before the end of January in every third year, report to the Bishop the number, titles, and condition of the books under his care, and send a copy of such report countersigned by one or more of the trustees to the Associates' secretary.
7. Any person losing or injuring any of the books shall be answerable to the trustees for the loss or injury.
8. On any volume being borrowed or returned, an entry shall be made thereof in the register provided by the Associates.
9. The trustees may make any regulations for the management of the Library, not inconsistent with the above Rules.

* *No. 79, Pall Mall.*